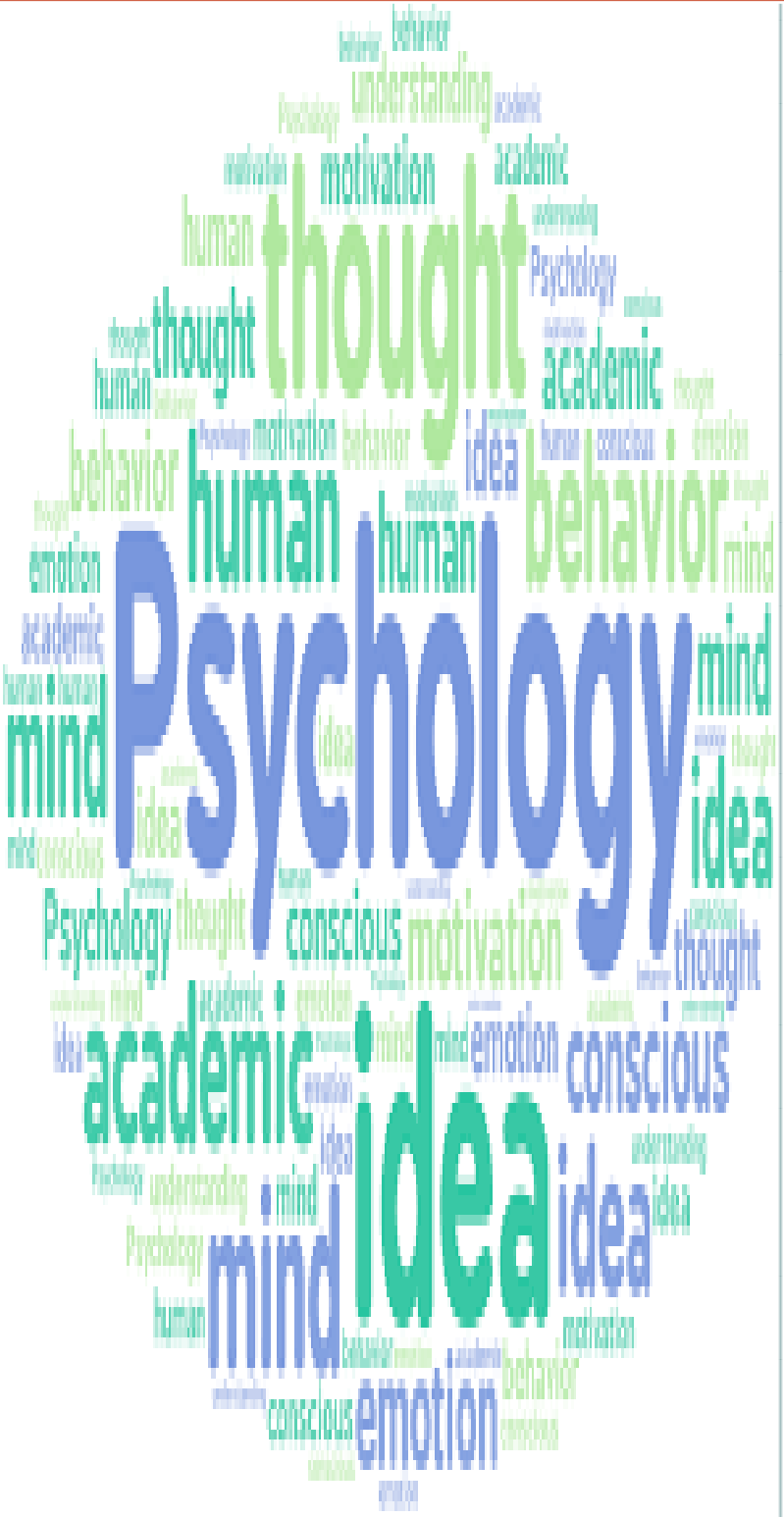
Emergence of Psychology



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What is Psychological thought in some major Eastern Systems: Bhagavad Gita, Buddhism, Sufism and Integral Yoga ?

The Psychological thought in some major Eastern Systems: Bhagavad Gita, Buddhism, Sufism and Integral Yoga

The Bhagavad Gita is the best philosophical confluence of karma, bhakti and gyan yoga as Krishna‟s solution to Arjuna‟s problem is comprehensive, involving the behavioral (karma yoga), the emotional (bhakti yoga) and the intellectual (gyan yoga).The religious and philosophical importance of the Gita is well known. It is not only a well organized form of Indian life but also is considered a humanistic religion of the world.

Its universal importance is established by its translation in all recognized languages of the world. Some scholars consider it as greatest ideal of dharmashastra, some of ethics and of philosophy. A depth study of the Gita affirms that it embodies all the above mentioned aspects. Therefore, all these opinions of the scholars are complementary to each other. The philosophical approach does establish its importance but it has another approach that is psychological.

Psychological depiction is not confined to any race, time or space. It is perennial source of inspiration for all humans in all times. Gita darshan has been stabilized on the ground of psychology. Therefore, it is a unique achievement in the field of psychology.

After entering the war field, Arjuna‟s hesitation for performing his duties in place of showing enthusiasm for war, is obviously a

depiction of psychological situation. All individuals are caught into social and religious bondages. These bondages become part of life as these are inborn and cannot be easily broken. It is easily understood one‟s feeling of violence towards his elders, teachers and brothers as a momentary excitement but it cannot be given a definite form of violence.

The driving force in a human being is not his body and senses but his soul. Similarly, Arjuna could not attain that self confidence with which he can experience emptiness of his aspirations and desires. The Bhagavad Gita‟s depiction of how one can control one‟s impulses emotions, desires and other bodily activities is a pure psychology. Now, we need to focus on the situation how does Arjuna, the great warrior embrace cowardice?

Why and how does he adopt renunciation (tyagavriti) of Brahamana- dharma after deserting kshatriya swabhava? The psychological answer to this question is given in 27th chapter of Udhyoga Parva of Mahabharata.

It is a psychological fact the nothing happens without a reason and its background. Sanjay had already prepared the background of Arjuna‟s cowardice. Before commencement of war, Sanjay, as a messenger of Dhritrastra requests Yudhisthra not to wage war. Arjuna who is present there during the conversation attentively listens to him. Sanjay Says:

He says that human life is momentary, full of sorrow and fickleness. Therefore, Yudhisthra should not wage the war; it is not according to his fame. Here, Sanjay tries to dishearten „Dharmprana‟ Arjuna making him consider war as sin.

It implies that the desires hindering right conduct (dharmacharna) draw an individual towards themselves. Therefore, an intelligent person first destroys these desires and thereafter attains fame and admiration. Here Sanjay clearly points out that desire for kingdom is

an obstacle to right conduct (dharmacharana). If this desire is deserted, there will be no war. Moreover, Sanjay‟s next sentence makes Arjuna feel weak and confused.

It means the one who considers right conduct (dharma) as prime ideal among all three ideals- dharma, artha, and kama and leads his life accordingly, he gets fame and shines like sun. But the one who is devoid of dharma and whose intellect is associated with sin, he, despite owning the whole earth, suffers continuously. The next sentence of Sanjay again weakens Arjuna‟s heart as:

In this way, the war appeared before Arjuna as a form of a sin. His thought like „a desire for kingdom‟, „sacrifice for others‟ and „Kaurava must kill me‟ etc. are symbols of inferiority caused by Sanjay‟s statements. Generally, attachment is considered as the greatest enemy of human being but the psychological perspective states that the greatest enemy is that power which induces the feeling of inferiority in the human being.

Here we find Sanjay in a role which weakens Pandavas side and strengthens Kaurava side with his politics. If we look at Arjuna‟s character, he was not a coward, due to his inferiority complex, he started to feel disheartened.

There is a need of a teacher who is superior, restrained and knows yoga to uplift Arjuna and the need was fulfilled by Sri Krishna. He came to know the inferiority of Arjuna after listening to his statements in no time. He tries to convince him as follows:

It is necessary to remind person‟s bravery, duties etc. in order to erase thoughts of inferiority and steers him to work patiently. He tells Arjuna that his enemies are afraid of him, they tremble with fear, they get disheartened after seeing his bravery, they are almost dead and he is just an instrumental cause. Krishna, also, clarifies the form of soul as eternal entity- to kill or to be killed.

The attachment to body is not right because it is not eternal. The eternal soul never dies. Therefore he would not acquire sin of killing Kauravas and their people. But, if he deserts his Swadharma and will not involve in war then he will acquire sin. In chapter second, his preaching about ‘Isthitpragyata’ prepared the background to stabilize Arjuna‟s state of mind. At this Arjuna says:

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It is very difficult to subdue mind which is restless, turbulent, and obstinate even more difficult than controlling the wind. But at the same time, Sri Krishna elevates. Arjuna‟s spirit after motivating him. He says:

Buddhiyoga

Buddhi yoga (purpose of the Gita) is another worthy concept to look into.

Buddhi (intellect) is an ability to learn. A person has three abilities namely adjustment, learning and abstract thinking which are complementary to each other.

In the Gita Sri Krishna identifies himself with his intellect and he has defined an ideal person as 'Isthirbhuddhi'. If it is necessary to have trained and enlightened reason for spirituality, the loss of reason and logic causes downfall and the loss of reason lead to destruction of the person. Sri Krishna imparts Buddhiyoga to Arjuna enlightening him with the light of his knowledge.

Arjuna gets illumined and accepts humbly that his illusion has now gone and he has regained memory.

He is now firm and free from doubt and is prepared to act according to His instructions.

It means the faculty that is helpful in determination is called intellect. A person first should determine that the supreme soul is the complete entity everywhere. Such an intelligent person treats alike all creatures of world. The same idea is expressed in the following verse It means a truly wise person is one whose intellect treats equally a brahmana, an outcaste, a cow, an elephant, a dog and he considers others as his equal.

The concept of „Isthitpragya' is reflected upon in a unique manner that is not found in the discussion of „intelligence" of modern psychologists.

GITA AND HUMAN PSYCHOLOGY

Etymologically, the word 'psychology', with its origin attributed to the Greek psyche, means 'study of the soul'. In the modern parlance, it means the science of mind and behaviour. Now, this inter-related triad of soul, mind and behaviour also constitutes the central concern of the BhagavadGita, which ultimately charts the course of harmonising the self (soul) with the absolute (Brahman), involving inter-alia an in-depth analysis of human mind and behavioural types.

The Freudian structural model of the psyche comprises three parts: the id, the ego and the super-ego. The id represents in-born tendencies, the instinctive drives and impulses 'inherited at birth' and 'laid down in the constitution' of a personality; it acts on the 'pleasure principle', seeking satisfaction of instinctual needs.

The ego acts on the 'reality principle', seeking to channel and meet the id's drives of passion in realistic ways, factoring in the influence of the environment through reason and common sense, constantly conflicted by and constantly seeking to mediate among the id, the super-ego and the external world, with a latent predisposition for the id. Originally Freud termed ego to mean a sense of self, but later modified the meaning as a set of psychic functions, such as

judgement, tolerance, reality testing, control, planning, defence mechanism, intellectual functioning and memory. Super-ego is the urge to perfection and represents internalised societal and parental standards of right and wrong behaviour – a type of conscience that punishes misbehaviour with sense of guilt. Freud stressed on the dominance of sexual drive in the subconscious id.

This part of his theory was however contested by his one-time colleague, Carl Jung, whose work on himself and on his patients convinced him that life has a spiritual purpose beyond material goals and that spiritual experience is essential to our well being.

According to Jung, man's principal task is to discover and fulfill his deep innate potential in much the same way the caterpillar fulfills its potential to become a butterfly. Based on his study of Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism and other traditions, Jung suggested that 'individuation' – a journey of transformation to meet the self and also to meet the divine – is at the mystical heart of all religions.

includes Jung's postulation of individuation as an integrated transformational process encompassing the 'collective unconscious', representing a deeper collective or social level of psychic functioning underlying the Freudian 'personal unconscious'; people at an advanced stage of individuation tend to be harmonious, mature, humane and socially responsible, having a good understanding of the human nature and the universe.

In addition to these classical models of Freud and Jung, in contemporary psychology we come across other models, such as the Five Factor Model (FFM), listing the "big five" of openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness and neuroticism to describe human personality.

Another notable post-Freudian model is Eric Berne's Transactional Analysis, also called the Parent-Adult-Child model, integrating the psycho-analytic and cognitive approaches.

As expressly stated in all these psychological theories, these are all ‘models’ to understand and characterise human mind and behaviour. Now, as we would try to explore here, Gita is also concerned with classifying personalities based on models: of the good, passionate and dull modes of mind; of the divine and demoniac endowments; of the devotee and nondevotee; of the steady and non-steady.

In science, the underlying hypothesis in modeling is that a super-imposition of plural models may provide a better understanding of the truth of nature. The same applies to understanding the truth of the human nature and spirit and its causal and driving principles.

In science, Niels Bohr propounded the Complementarity principle to get beyond the conundrum of duality: that some characteristics of an electron are explicable by its particle nature (deterministic model) while some others are explained by its wave nature (probabilistic model). Similarly, Gita makes the case that the human mind can be best understood as a super-imposition of the models of impressions (vāsanās), modes (guṇas), endowments (sampadas), and faiths (śraddhās).

The Holy Geeta entered my life in the autumn of 1993. I was sitting in Chennai’s Taj Coromandal one evening not knowing what to do when I happened to see the Holy Geeta by Swami Chinamayanandji. Something attracted me and I got down to reading it. In eight years am on my third read now. It has become my best friend. When I am feeling low, confused or lonely I open the Gita, read a few pages and feel content thereafter. The beauty is that the interpretation of various slokhas is different every time I read it. May be it has to do with the stages and situations in my life. The one by Swamiji is very good for a spiritually evolved person. What I like in the one by Swami Rama is that it easy to understand, very good for a person who is reading the Geeta for the first time.

A bit about Swami Rama. Swamiji founded the Himalayan International Institute of Yoga Science and Philosophy, the Himalayan Institute Hospital Trust in India and many centers across the world. A student of both Himalayan cave monasteries European universities, he founded the Himalayan Institute to create a bridge between the ancient teachings of the East and modern scientific approaches of the West.

Some people associate the Holy Geeta with Sanathan Dharam. To my mind it has universal application, shows us how to handle the problems of life, be happy inspite of ups and downs, perform duty without being attached to the fruits of action etc. The Geeta is eternal, as relevant today as it was thousands of years ago.

For your convenience I have reproduced the book verbatim. The format is as follows. It starts with an introduction followed by excerpts from individual chapters. Each chapter consists of slokhas with commentaries. Besides explaining the slokha, the commentary highlight the comparison between eastern and western psychology. It has my comments in brackets to help you distinguish it from the original text.

“The Bhagawad Gita is the fountainhead of eastern psychology and this commentary is designed to draw out its psychological concepts and make them accessible to all students. These profound insights are intertwined with philosophical concepts, so the task undertaken here is to separate the psychological principles and to explain them their practical application.

The word philosophy is a compound of two words, philo and Sophia, which means ‘love for knowledge’. There are 18 chapters in the Gita each describing a different aspect of the process of self-transformation. The aim of the Gita is to teach the aspirant how to establish equanimity in his internal life and in his activities in the external world, to help him develop that tranquility within, and to explain the art and science of doing actions skillfully and selflessly.

The book aims at helping you understand your inner potentials, it is not possible to function effectively and harmoniously in the external world, for all the things happen within before they are expressed externally. Sri Krishna modified and simplified the Vedic and Upanishadic knowledge with the Geeta.

Modern psychologists attempt to help the client modify his conscious attitudes and unconscious behaviors, but their analysis lacks the depth and profundity found in the Gita. Most modern therapists do not explore the purpose and meaning of life. They do not go to the root of the problem but analyze it without understanding the fundamental cause.

By contrast Sri Krishna presents a philosophical foundation for understanding the purpose of life and the way to live life harmoniously, and he offers Arjuna practical advice on living and coping with the world".

Psychological thought in Buddhism

Buddhist psychology is primarily about self-knowledge- finding out more about who you are, understanding your decisions, actions, thoughts, feelings, etc. It is an expression of the Delphic dictum *Know Thyself* and the injunction that transformative spiritual paths throughout time and geography have demanded as the central ingredient in authentic happiness.

Buddhist psychology is 'radical,' as it aims to challenge your worldview (as all authentic spirituality and psychology does). It is radical in that it addresses the basis or foundation of our psychological functioning, our sense of who we are, and our relationships with others and with the world. As a result, the fruit of applying the psychological insights of the Buddha requires diligence, perseverance and discernment as they will naturally encounter the resistances and obstacles inherent in our conditioned nature.

It is not a coincidence that Buddhism finds itself so welcome in the western world since the last decades of the preceding century.

While the appeal certainly includes those who have converted to Buddhism as a faith and have adopted the practices, liturgies and meditations of whatever form of Buddhism speaks to them, the more unique and far-reaching impact of Buddhism, as a psychology, has taken place in academia and among clinical researchers, who have observed that the Buddhist understanding of consciousness, mind, behavior, motivation, personality and psychopathology bear a close resemblance to perspectives held in western psychology and psychotherapy.

While the Buddha was not a psychiatrist or psychologist in the formal sense of the word, the vast majority of his recorded teachings, are explicitly concerned with the sources of emotional suffering and their amelioration. No doubt there is much, much more to Buddhism than the psychology he elucidates.

Yet, an argument will be made that these more 'religious' elements, for the want of a better word, or possibly 'experience-far' aspects, are of appeal to those who seek a religious Buddhism, a Buddhism that provides for a level of faith and understanding that speaks to the needs of their heart, but which can be separated out, and set aside, for those who do not seek such a religious experience (possibly content with their own existing faith, or with none at all) but who rather wish to deepen their self-knowledge and happiness.

It is these experience-near or psychological Buddhism that speaks loudly in the West and which may be anticipated to be the legacy of the Buddhist encounter with the West.

Let's examine some of the confluences of Western and Buddhist psychology. There is certainly a high degree of overlap in goals and content areas of both disciplines that focus directly on

understanding human behavior, the source or conditions for unhappiness and ways to reduce, attenuate or even eliminate such unhappiness. Indeed the Buddhist corpus has extensive psychological writings- very explicit and detailed- and not found in other religious traditions.

Thus it is not surprising that some aspect of Buddhist psychology has been of interest to those professions in the west dedicated to alleviating human suffering: medicine, psychiatry, psychology, nursing, social work. The professional journals for each of these disciplines have published so much scientific research (especially related to mindfulness practice) that to fully describe the studies would require a book in itself. The Dalai Lama has explicitly encouraged interaction between western disciplines to further establish links with science and clinical practice.

The Mind and Life Institute is an expression of this venture of cooperation. Elements of Buddhist psychology have been integrated into psychotherapeutic practices for a variety of psychopathological conditions, including depression, anxiety, addiction and stress.

Scientific writers from the entire range of clinical psychology and psychiatry, ranging from psychoanalysis to cognitive to behavioral to humanistic theory, have all addressed aspects of Buddhist psychology.

Not surprising, the Buddhist traditions that have been of greatest appeal to western science and psychology have been those that appear to contain a higher proportion of experience-near aspects (Theravadin, Zen) because they carry much less religious baggage and more easily translated into Western concepts. Less impactful has been the teachings of Mahayana and Tibetan or tantric Buddhism which include a strong element of experience-far teachings and thus are more difficult to translate into concepts that are digestible by the western mind.

Nevertheless, even these traditions reflect a more esoteric psychology that does find resonance in the West and which full certainly continue to attract significant interest

Goal of Buddhist Psychology

Buddhist psychology, simply put, is concerned with the alleviation of human suffering, distress, and dissatisfaction. However, the Buddhist idea of suffering much broader than what is usually the focus of western psychology. The notion of suffering includes the entire range of human dissatisfaction and anguish and not the clinical disorders described by psychiatry.

And it is also important to note that for the most part the Buddha is referring to emotional suffering rather than physical suffering, per se. The emphasis is on the mental aspects of physical pain rather than the pain itself. The Buddha's practical project of the understanding and relief of human anguish was also a potent counterforce to metaphysical speculation which the Buddha eschewed.

The pursuit of metaphysical, logical or theoretical issues for their own sake was avoided.

Such questions could not be answered and spending time on them simply distracted from the urgency of the message the Buddha wished to share. This could also be understood as the Buddha's advice to leave questions about the nature of the universe, matter, and reality to those disciplines equipped to study and address them (e.g., science). The domain of science was the area of human endeavour which could answer such questions. The Buddha was primarily concerned with the human mind and its activity.

Much of what the Buddha taught could eventually be empirically and personally evaluated by those who were diligent and persistent. This is an important consideration for those who distinguish experience-near (psychological) and experience-far (religious)

aspects of Buddhism. While the former could be realized and experienced anyone who put in the requisite effort, that did not mean it would be easy.

Any profound and transformative understanding of mind would require dedication and perseverance and could not learn from simply hearing about it or reading it. The Buddha's was approach empirical and scientific- it did not draw on dogma, philosophy or received wisdom. Analytic and experiential investigation worked together to provide the transformative knowledge the Buddha wished to teach us.

The Buddha does not ask that his claims be taken on blind faith, although some faith is necessary to even begin self-exploration. Examine his words on the basis of your reason, experience, and intuition. All of us have the seed of Enlightenment, of authentic happiness, bliss waiting to 'blossom' if nourished.

Buddhist Psychology as a Science of Consciousness

We pay extreme attention to our physical bodies (vanity, cosmetics, clothes). We can invest incredible amounts of time towards achievements such as careers, sports, art, money and social standing. We pursue social relationships as a key aspect of our happiness. One can make the argument that our sciences and technologies are devoted to increasing comfort, convenience, pleasure, and so on. There is no doubt that we are highly focused on preserving our physical lives, our social status and relationships, and our sensory and lifestyle. Our education system can be said to be geared to achieving all of these aims, all of which are admirable and good. But little attention is paid to mind or consciousness. It is not taught in school, by caregivers, or friends. This may reflect the Western ambivalence towards mind. Many psychologies have either denied the existence of consciousness or have diminished its influence in our lives; modern neuroscience research has reduced consciousness to brain activity that may have not have any causal

agency. Yet, consciousness is precisely the focus of Buddhist psychology**.**

Andrew Olendzki has done an excellent job at describing the key components of Buddhist psychology and it would be valuable to reiterate some of his conclusions here. Buddhist psychology focuses on the direct experience, consciousness, awareness, mind, subjectivity, of the individual. Buddhist psychology can be descriptive phenomenology of mind, a science of experience. Its contribution is the Buddha's advice to explore the dynamics of subjectivity as it unfolds in the present moment through the practice of mindfulness meditation. Modern scientific views of mind and behavior have tended toward reductionist explanations, explaining mind in terms of physical structures and brain processes. Olendzki has argued that the reductionist approach doesn't explain lived human experience, the qualia of experience. The absence of the brain in the Buddha's account of mind leaves a place for the contribution of western science but also suggests that to understand the mind, in the manner that the Buddha discusses, does not *require* contributions of neuroscience. The Buddha, through his advocacy of a meditative approach to wisdom, points to a process view of experience consisting of several interdependent processes, functions, and events (i.e. dharmas).

Five Insights of Buddhist Psychology:

(i) **Centrality of consciousness/ subjectivity**

The radically psychological nature of Buddhist psychology is evidenced by the need to explore the mind through meditation and other forms of contemplation. It is not necessary to explain it, where it comes from, which part of the brain and so on, which is a major focus of many western scientific disciplines. Our subjectivity consists of moments of awareness that appear seamless but with attention placed on it, within the present moment, can reveal how our cognitive processes culminate in the mental phenomena we

experience. Investigating this moment, right here, right now, is where wisdom can arise.

(ii) Human experience manifests through 6 sense systems

Along with the 5 senses and their corresponding experiences, mind is considered to be a sense organ, and cognitive events are sense objects. The traditional account of consciousness describes its emergence from interaction of sense organ (e.g., eye) and sense object (e.g., visual object) creating sensory experience (e.g., visual consciousness). Everything we know depends on the activity of these 6 senses. While later developments in Buddhist philosophy posits additional senses, the traditional scriptures focus on these six.

(iii) All experience is constructed

The radically psychological nature of Buddhist psychology can be observed in the emphasis on what appears. What appears is a transformation or translation of the external environment into an internal language of consciousness (e.g., photons >> sight; chemicals >>taste, smell; vibration >>> hearing; pressure >> touch; brain activity >>> cognition). The transformation of raw sensory activation into sensory experience is so radical that no way to know what pre-constructed reality is. All we can know is our own subjectivity. Any discussion of what 'reality' is will always be limited by what our senses will permit and what our mind can conceive. The study of reality is the study of the human construction of experience. And whatever such reality may be is irrelevant to the real purpose of the Buddha's message, to transform delusion into wisdom. This project requires us to explore our inner world. Of course, each individual has their unique, subjective, constructed reality.

(iv) **Experience is constantly changing- an incessant succession of events**

Each perception, sensation, cognition, image, memory, feeling is a process that can never be experienced identically again. Every moment is unique. Our brains have evolved to reduce our awareness of such flux to increase our ability to survive. For reasons of adaptation sensory reality is filtered thus distorting our experiences. Three major forms of perceptual distortion are described by the Buddha: perceptions of permanence (perceptual-linguistic), satisfaction (cognitive) and self (metacognitive) are examples of this distortion-tendency.

(v) M**ind/body (the self) revealed through 5 inter-dependent processes**

Five processes or 'aggregates' define the self (i.e., mind/body). These five processes consist of physicality, consciousness, perception, affect, and habit. The Buddhist posits a view of self an interaction among these five processes to produce the coherent sense of identity and 'I'-ness that defines who we are. It is not accurate to claim that there is no self within Buddhist psychology. This would be absurd. What the Buddha clarifies is that the self we experience has no essence or substance but consists of these 5 constantly arising, abiding and subsiding.

BUDDHISM AND WESTERN PSYCHOLOGY

Assessment of Buddhism in terms of modern western psychology started when British Indologist Rhys Davids translated *Abhidhamma Pitaka* from Pali and Sanskrit texts in 1900. She published the book entitled it, "Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics".

In 1914, she wrote another book "Buddhist psychology: An inquiry into the analysis and theory of mind".

The mid-twentieth century saw the collaborations between many psychoanalysts and Buddhist scholars as a meeting between “two of the most powerful forces” operating in the Western mind. A variety of renowned teachers, clinicians and writers in the west such as Carl Jung, Erich Fromm, Alan Watts, Tara Brach, Jack Kornfield, Joseph Goldstein, and Sharon Salzberg among others have attempted to bridge and integrate psychology and Buddhism, from time to time, in a manner that offers meaning, inspiration and healing to the common man's suffering.

Buddhism and Western Psychology overlap in theory and in practice. Over the last century, experts have written on many commonalities between Buddhism and the various branches of modern western psychology like phenomenological psychology, psychoanalytical psychotherapy, humanistic psychology, cognitive psychology and existential psychology.

Buddhism and phenomenological psychology

Any assessment of Buddhism in terms of psychology is necessarily a modern western invention. Western and Buddhist scholars have found in Buddhist teachings a detailed introspective phenomenological psychology. Rhys Davids in her book “Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics” wrote, “Buddhist philosophy is ethical first and last. Buddhism set itself to analyze and classify mental processes with remarkable insight and sagacity”.

Buddhism's psychological orientation is a theme Rhys Davids pursued for decades as evidenced by her other writings.

Abhidhamma Pitaka articulates a philosophy, a psychology, and ethics as well; all integrated into the framework of a program for liberation. The primary concern of the *Abhidhamma* (or Abhidharma in Sanskrit), is to understand the nature of experience, and thus the reality on which it focuses is conscious reality.

For this reason, the philosophical enterprise of the *Abhidhamma* shades off into a phenomenological psychology.

Later on long-term efforts to integrate Abhidhammic psychology with Western empirical sciences have been carried out by other leaders such as Chogyam Trungpa Rinpoche and the 14th Dalai Lama.

In introduction to his 1975 book, *Glimpses of the Abhidharma*, Chogyam Trungpa Rinpoche wrote: “Many modern psychologists have found that the discoveries and explanations of the abhidharma coincide with their own recent discoveries and new ideas; as though the abhidharma, which was taught 2,500 years ago, had been redeveloped in the modern idiom”.

Every two years, since 1987, the Dalai Lama has convened “Mind and Life” gatherings of Buddhists and scientists.

Reflecting on one Mind and Life session in March 2000, psychologist Daniel Goleman, the author of the best-selling “Emotional Intelligence” and “Destructive Emotions: A Scientific Dialogue with the Dalai Lama” noted; “since the time of Gautama Buddha in the 5 th century BC, an analysis of the mind and its workings has been central to the practices of his followers. This analysis was codified during the first millennium, after his death within the system called *Abhidhamma* (or Abhidharma in Sanskrit), which means ultimate doctrine”.

Buddhism and psychoanalytical psychotherapy

Psychoanalyst Carl Jung wrote the foreword to Zen's scholar Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki's introduction to Zen Buddhism, first published together in 1948. In his foreword, Jung highlights the enlightenment experience as the unsurpassed transformation to wholeness for Zen practitioners. “The only movement within our culture which partly has, and partly should have, some understanding of these aspirations for such enlightenment is psychotherapy”.

Psychoanalysts like Karen Horney and Fritz Perls studied Zen-Buddhism. Karen Horney was intensely interested in Zen Buddhism during the last years of her life.

Richard Wilhelm was a translator of Chinese texts into German language of the I Ching, Tao Te Ching and 'the secret of the golden flower', with a forward written by Carl Jung. R D Laing, another noted psychoanalyst, went to Ceylon, where he spent two months studying meditation in a Buddhist retreat.

Later on, he spent time learning Sanskrit and visiting Govinda Lama, who had been a guru to Timothy Leary and Richard Alpert. Suzuki, Fromm and other psychoanalysts collaborated at a 1957 workshop on "Zen Buddhism and Psychoanalysis" in Cuernavaca, Mexico. In his contribution to this workshop, Fromm declared:

"Psychoanalysis is a characteristic expression of the Western man's spiritual crisis, and an attempt to find a solution. The common suffering is the alienation from oneself, from one's fellow men, and from nature;

the awareness that life runs out of one's hand like sand, and that one will die without having lived; that one lives in the midst of plenty and yet is joyless".

Fromm continues: "Zen is the art of seeing into the nature of one's being; it is a way from bondage to freedom; it liberates our natural energies; and it impels us to express our faculty for happiness and love.

" "What can be said with more certainty is that the knowledge of Zen, and a concern with it, can have a most fertile and clarifying influence on the theory and technique of psychoanalysis.

Zen, different as it is in its method from psychoanalysis, can sharpen the focus, throw new light on the nature of insight, and heighten the sense of what it is to see, what it is to be creative, what

it is to overcome the affective contaminations and false intellectualizations which are the necessary results of experience based on the subject-object split".

Referencing Jung and Suzuki's collaboration as well as the efforts of others, humanistic philosopher and psychoanalyst Erich Fromm noted; "there is an unmistakable and increasing interest in Zen Buddhism among psychoanalysts". Erich Fromm also wrote the forward to a 1986 anthology of Nyanaponika Thera's essays on Buddhist philosophy.

There have been many other important contributors, to the popularization of the integration of Buddhist meditation with psychology, including Kornfield, Joseph Goldstein, Tara Brach, Epstein and Nhat Hanh.

Psychoanalysis, pioneered and popularized by such philosophers/psychoanalysts rests upon the idea that uncovering and making conscious buried complexes and memories is a therapeutic process. The relocation of a complex or neurosis from the unconscious to the conscious easily equates to the principles inherent in right meditation and right understanding. One might recall that on Jung's deathbed, he was reading a translation of Hsu Yun's dharma discourses and was reputedly very excited by the succinct and direct methods of Chan's practice in working with the unconscious.

Buddhism and existential psychology

Buddha said that life is suffering. Existential psychology speaks of *ontological anxiety* (dread, angst). Buddha said that suffering is due to attachment.

Existential psychology also has some similar concepts. We cling to things in the hope that they will provide us with a certain benefit. Buddha said that suffering can be extinguished. The Buddhist concept of nirvana is quite similar to the existentialists' freedom.

Freedom has, in fact, been used in Buddhism in the context of freedom from rebirth or freedom from the effects of karma. For the existentialist, freedom is a fact of our being, one which we often ignore. Finally, Buddha says that there is a way to extinguish suffering. For the existential psychologist, the therapist must take an assertive role in helping the client become aware of the reality of his or her suffering and its roots.

Likewise, the client must take an assertive role in working towards improvement–even though it means facing the fears they've been working so hard to avoid, and especially facing the fear that they will "lose" themselves in the process.

Buddhism and cognitive-behavior therapy principles

Buddhistic mindfulness practices have been explicitly incorporated into a variety of psychological treatments. More specifically psychotherapies dealing with cognitive restructuring share core principles with ancient Buddhistic antidotes to personal suffering.

Fromm distinguishes between two types of meditative techniques that have been used in psychotherapy: (i) auto-suggestion used to induce relaxation; and (ii) meditation "to achieve a higher degree of non-attachment, of non-greed, and of non-illusion; briefly, those that serve to reach a higher level of being". Fromm attributes techniques associated with the latter to Buddhist mindfulness practices.

Two increasingly popular therapeutic practices using Buddhist mindfulness techniques are Jon Kabat-Zinn's Mindfulness-based Stress Reduction (MBSR), and Marsha M. Linehan's dialectical behavioral therapy (DBT). Other prominent therapies that use mindfulness include mindfulness-based cognitive therapy (MBCT) and Steven C. Hayes' Acceptance and commitment therapy (ACT).

Mindfulness-based stress reduction

Kabat-Zinn developed the 8-week MBSR program over a 10-year-period with over 4,000 patients at the University of Massachusetts Medical Center. Describing the MBSR program, Kabat-Zinn writes: "This 'work' involves above all the regular, disciplined practice of moment-to-moment awareness or *mindfulness*, the complete 'owning' of each moment of your experience, good, bad, or ugly. This is the essence of full catastrophic living."

Kabat-Zinn, a one-time Zen practitioner, goes on to write: "Although at this time, mindfulness meditation is most commonly taught and practiced within the context of Buddhism, its essence is universal. Yet it is no accident that mindfulness comes out of Buddhism, which has as its overriding concerns the relief of suffering and the dispelling of illusions".

Not surprisingly, in terms of clinical diagnoses, MBSR has proven beneficial for people with depression and anxiety disorders; however, the program is meant to serve anyone experiencing significant stress.

Dialectical behavioral therapy

In writing about DBT, Zen practitioner Linehan states: "As its name suggests, its overriding characteristic is an emphasis on 'dialectics' – that is, the reconciliation of opposites in a continual process of synthesis. This emphasis on acceptance as a balance to change flows directly from the integration of a perspective drawn from the practice of Buddhism with Western psychological practice."

Similarly, Linehan writes:

"Mindfulness skills are central to DBT. They are the first skills taught and are reviewed every week. The skills are psychological and behavioral versions of meditation practices from Eastern spiritual training. Linehan has drawn heavily from the practice of Zen. Controlled clinical studies have demonstrated DBT's effectiveness for people with borderline personality disorder."

Dr. Albert Ellis, has written that many of the principles incorporated in the theory of rational-emotive psychotherapy are not new; some of them were originally stated several thousands of years ago, by Taoist and Buddhistic thinkers. To give one example, Buddhism identifies anger and ill-will as basic hindrances to spiritual development. A common Buddhistic antidote for anger is the use of active contemplation of loving thoughts. This is similar to using a CBT technique known as “emotional training” which Ellis described.

The school of Behaviorism describe (or reduce) human functions to principles of behavior, which can be manipulated to create positive effects in the life of the patient. In the Noble Eightfold Path we see reflections of this approach in the exhortations to Right Action, Right Speech and Right Livelihood. One may consider the story of the Buddha who was approached by a rich but miserly man who wanted to develop his spiritual life but was constrained by his seeming inability to share his wealth with others. The Buddha addressed this problem by telling him to get into the habit of using his right hand to give his left hand items of value and in doing so learn the art of giving!

Cognitive and cognitive-behaviorists focus more on training the mind to review and question assumptions, phobias, fears and beliefs. These therapists are typically associated with such techniques as visualization and positive self-talk designed to teach, or unlearn, principles that are, respectively, helpful or unhelpful. Again, the noble eightfold path and its focus on right mindfulness and right thinking are the corollary in Buddhist thought.

Buddhism and other psychotherapy principles

Gestalt Therapy is an approach created by Fritz Perls, based heavily on existentialist philosophy and significantly, Zen Buddhism (among other influences). In Gestalt, the premise is we must work with the whole person, the “gestalt” in German, which echoes the wisdom of Right Understanding. Its techniques encourage Right

Mindfulness, and the focus on the immediate, phenomenological and experiential reality of the here and now, in the physical, emotional and mental realms.

David Brazier in his book Zen Therapy makes a thoughtful comparison of some principal Buddhist concepts and person-centered (rogerian) Therapy. Developed by Carl Rogers, this therapeutic approach includes virtually all effective therapy, either in principle or technique. In basic terms, its goal is to provide the patient a safe place, an environment where he or she may express their problems. The therapist does not direct the process, but works on the assumption the patient has the resources to deal with their own “cure” and self-growth, provided the environment is supportive of them. Like the Buddha, this non-authoritative approach suggests the patient can be “a light unto themselves”. Although the therapist may do little more than provide active and empathic listening, and reflect and validate the thoughts and emotions of the struggling patient, they nonetheless, provide three crucial components for change to occur; unconditional positive regard, empathy and congruence (or genuiness). These are the elements that are considered essential to create an environment where the individual can grow, learn and evolve.

This is of particular interest to the Buddhist student who is taught that all suffering stems from the three “bitter roots” or “poisons” of greed, hatred and delusion. Brazier demonstrates how, from a therapeutic perspective, Person-Centered Therapy counters each of these “poisons”; empathy is the “antidote” to hate, unconditional positive regard provides a model of acceptance of self and other which counters the grasping, needy nature of greed, and congruence (genuineness) is the opposite of delusion. Delusion itself, as Brazier suggests, could just as well be translated as “incongruence”, the separation of self and mind from what is real and what is present.

CONCLUSION

Buddha was commonly referred to as “the great physician” and like any therapist, made it his aim to identify, explain and end human suffering. All therapists do have similar aims. Four Noble Truths are the method to adopt a diagnostic format to explain suffering and its cure; the 1st Noble Truth identifies the disease, the 2nd provides etiology, the 3rd gives a prognosis, and the 4th suggests a remedy.

Philosopher and Orientalist Alan Watts once wrote: If we look deeply into such ways of life as Buddhism, we do not find either philosophy or religion as these are understood in the West. We find something more nearly resembling psychotherapy. The main resemblance between these Eastern ways of life and Western psychotherapy is in the concern of both with bringing about changes of consciousness, changes in our ways of feeling our own existence and our relation to human society and the natural world.

What Buddhism is really all about is returning to this life, your very own little life, with a “new attitude.” By being more calm, more aware, a nicer person morally, someone who has given up envy and greed and hatred and such, who understands that nothing is forever, that grief is the price we willingly pay for love… this life becomes at very least bearable. We stop torturing ourselves and allow ourselves to enjoy what there is to enjoy.

Buddha was a unique psychotherapist. His therapeutic methods helped millions of people throughout the centuries. Today the Western world has realized the psychological essence of Buddhism. Many Psychotherapeutic systems in the West are derived from Buddha's teaching. Buddha showed empathy and non-judgmental acceptance to everyone who came to him. He helped people to gain insight and helped in growth promotion while eliminating troubling and painful emotions. His therapeutic methods are exceptional and can be applied for all times.

Prince Gautama gave his entire life in understanding and then propagating his philosophy. People have devoted their entire lives in

studying and understanding his philosophy. Being a student of modern psychiatry, I do not claim to be an expert in Buddhist philosophy and/or religion. This essay is just an expression of what little I have understood on His philosophy and an opportunity to offer my deep tribute to one of the greatest psychotherapists the world has ever produced!

Psychological thought in Sufism

From the 9th century onwards, Sufism has encapsulated Islamic spirituality. This is the loving heart of Islam, still alive, thriving and widely influential today. It is not the Islam of fundamentalists: quite the reverse.

From the earliest days, ascetic Muslim contemplatives practised fasting, praying and meditation in seclusion, just like the desert mothers and fathers of the Christian tradition, the earliest monks and nuns. Perhaps because they wore rough garments made of wool (*suf* in Arabic), these people came to be known as 'Sufis.'

Sufism soon became the name of a mystical path by which people seek the truth of divine love and knowledge through direct personal experience of God. Sufis are said to take precious care of the 'spiritual heart' through 'muraqaba,' a practice akin to meditation. Their aim and ambition is to grow increasingly attuned to the ever vigilant Divine Presence within. Dedicated Sufis are constantly meditating on the words of the the Islamic holy book, the *Qur'an* (Koran).

Sufism is often considered external to the mainstream doctrine of Islam, and has at times encountered opposition and hostility. Many of the great Muslim thinkers were Sufis, however, as were the most successful missionaries. In addition, these humble living examples of wisdom, compassion and love were held in great esteem and affection by ordinary people, those less capable of disentangling the legal and theological intricacies of more formal religion. Two

aspects of Sufism well known in western culture are, of course, Rumi and the 'whirling dervishes'.

Jalaladdin Rumi (1207–1273) went through a most powerful spiritual awakening as a young man. Influenced by his beloved teacher, Shams of Tabriz, his heart full of divine light, he became a supreme poet and faithful interpreter of the truths to be found in the *Qur'an*. By means of sometimes mysterious language, he was able to guide others to a love of God. The *Qur'an* statement, that 'Allah loves them and they love him' quickly became the basis for love-mysticism championed Rumi, as in the following quatrain:

'Love is here like the blood in my veins and skin,

It has emptied me of myself and filled me with the Beloved,

His fire has penetrated all the atoms of my body.

Of "me" only my name remains; the rest is Him.'

Rumi, known too by the honorary title 'Mawlana', also favoured and promoted 'whirling'. This is a form of extended rotatory dancing to sacred music in formal groups while repeating inwardly the name of 'Allah'. It induces a trance-like state of consciousness, and is a central aspect of Sufi worship performed by the renowned Dervishes, some of whom are still practising their traditional 'Sama' (whirling) ceremonies today. Whirling, meditation, prayer, 'dhikr' (regular study and remembrance of the *Qur'an*) and reciting poetry, especially love poetry, are all integral to devotional Sufi spiritual practice.

It is not true that Sufism is a men-only tradition. A woman called Rabi'a (d. 801) who lived in Iraq was, for example, one of the best loved of all the early Sufis. Revered Sufi teacher, Ibn al-Arabi (d. 1240), was first taught the spiritual path in his native Spain by two female Sufis. Later there were Sisterhoods among the different orders of Sufism, as well as Brotherhoods. And women attended

Bektashiyya ceremonies, without even wearing veils. Many women follow the Sufi tradition today.

At the heart of Sufism is the idea that humankind, the most honourable of creatures, is bound by covenant to carry the Divine Trust. It follows that if the ego forgets the Divine purpose of creation, viewing itself as existing independent of its Creator, it is betraying that sacred Trust. Now, the modern ego continually quests for self-satisfaction and self-adoration. Sufi practices, like those of many other world religions, enable people to combat this tendency, seeking to discover and bring forth the higher or 'true' self, that spark within each person, constantly attuned to the spiritual dimension.

The Sufi seeks to live according to eternal, selfless spiritual values, rather than transient, mercenary worldly ones. Neuro-scientific studies reveal that practices like meditation, chanting and whirling all improve harmony between the dualist, verbal, intellect of the brain's left hemisphere and the holistic, silent, poetic intuition of the right. That Christianity, Judaism, Buddhism, Zen, Taoism, and Hinduism's Vedanta all promote similar practices, aimed equally at conquering the tyranny of the ego, indicates a comforting degree of uniformity among travellers along the pathway to spiritual maturity, whatever their religious origin.

The term "Sufi psychology" is probably a deceptive one, because it implies that there is a relatively homogenous doctrine of the psyche the majority of the Sufis would subscribe to. It is not the case. However, one can point out the terms most frequently used and expound on the meanings of these notions.

Drawing from Qur'anic verses, virtually all Sufis distinguish between Nafs, Qalb, Sirr and Ruh. These concepts designate various psychospiritual "organs" or, sometimes, faculties of sensory and suprasensory perception.

Nafs

Nafs is usually translated as soul or psyche. Its etymology is rooted in "breath" (similar to Biblical or Kabbalistic nefesh and is common to virtually all archaic psychologies where the act of breathing was connected with life, animating otherwise lifeless object. In this respect, ancient notions of "Atman" in Hinduism (cf. German noun "Atem", breath, respiration) or Greek "pneuma" (as well as Latin "spiritus")-all equate the basic visible process of breathing with energizing principle that confers existence to an individual human being.

Some Sufis consider under the term "Nafs" the entirety of psychological processes, encompassing whole mental, emotional and volitional life; however, the majority of Quranic-based Sufis are of the opinion that Nafs is a "lower", egotistical and passionate human nature which, along with Tab (literally, physical nature), comprises vegetative and animal aspects of human life.

Synonyms for Nafs are devil, passion, greed, avarice, ego-centredness etc. The central aim of the Sufi path is transformation of Nafs (technical term is "Tazkiya-I-Nafs" or "purgation of the soul") from its deplorable state of ego-centredness through various psychospiritual stages to the purity and submission to the will of God. Although the majority of the Sufi orders have adopted convenient 7 maqams (maqams are permanent stages on the voyage towards spiritual transformation), and some still operate with 3 stages,

the picture is clear: the Sufi's journey begins with Nafs-I-Ammare (self-accusing soul) and ends in Nafs-I-Mutma'inna (satisfied soul)-although some Sufis's final stage is, in their technical vocabulary, Nafs-I-Safiya wa Kamila (soul restful and perfected in God's presence). In essence, this is almost identical to Christian paradigm of "vita purgativa" and various stages the spiritual aspirant traverses in the journey towards God.

Qalb

The next term, Qalb, stands for heart. In Sufi terminology, this spiritual heart (not to be confused with the pump in the breast) is again variously described. For some, it is the seat of beatific vision. Others consider it the gate of Ishq or Divine love. Yet, for the majority, it is the battleground of two warring armies: those of Nafs and Ruh or spirit. Here, one again encounters terminological confusion: for the Sufis influenced by Neoplatonism, a "higher" part of Nafs is equated to the Aql or intellect (called Nafs-I-Natiqa) or "rational soul" and is the cental active agent in spiritual battle: Ruh or spirit, notwithstanding its name, is rather passive in this stage. In short, cleansing of the Qalb or heart is a necessary spiritual discipline for travellers on the Sufi path. The term for this process is Tazkiah-I-Qalb and the aim is the erasure of everything that stands in the way of purifying God's love or Ishq.

Sirr

The third faculty is Sirr, or "the secret", located for the majority in the middle of the chest. Emptying of the Sirr (Taqliyya-I-Sirr) is basically focusing on God's names and attributes in perpetual remembrance or Dhikr, hence diverting one's attention from the mundane aspects of human life and fixing it on the spiritual realm. The "emptying" signifies negation and obliteration of ego-centred human propensities.

Ruh

Ruh or spirit is the fourth "entity" and the second contender in the battle for human life. Again, opinions on Ruh differ among Sufis. Some deem it coeternal with God; others consider it a created entity. Be as it may, Ruh is the plateau of consensus for the majority of Sufis, especially the early ones (before 11th/12th century C.E.). For those Sufis with Gnostic leanings (which can be found in Bektashi or Mevlevi orders), Ruh is a soul-spark, immortal entity and transegoic "true self", similar to the Christian concepts of "synteresis" or "Imago Dei", or Vedantist notion of "jiva", as well as

Tibetan Buddhist "shes-pa", principle of consciousness and Taoist "shen" or spirit.

But, the majority of the Sufis would consider this an unnecessarily extravagant speculation and would stick to the more orthodox notion of dormant spiritual faculty that needs to be worked upon by constant vigil and prayer in order to achieve the Tajliyya-I-Ruh, or Illumination of the spirit. Ironically, this spiritual faculty is frequently referred to in terms one encounters in connection with Nafs- "blind" life force or life current that needs to be purified by strict religious observances in order to achieve illumination.

So, in these four "organs" or faculties: Nafs, Qalb, Sirr and Ruh, and the purificative activities applied to them, the basic orthodox Sufi psychology is contained. The purification of elementary passionate nature (Tazkiya-I-Nafs), followed by cleansing of the spiritual heart so that it may acquire a mirror-like purity of reflection (Tazkiya-I-Qalb) and become the receptacle of God's love (Ishq),

fortified by emptying of egoic drives (Taqliyya-I-Sirr) and remembrance of God's attributes (Dhikr), gloriously ending in illumination of the spirit (Tajjali-I-Ruh)- this is the essential Sufi spiritual journey. Other spiritual faculties, like Khafi (the arcane) and Akhfa (the most arcane) are employed in other Sufi orders like Naqshbandi, but this is beyond general basic consensus.

The need to know Sufism

Human cognitions and behaviors are determined largely by a set of facts and values. The facts are mostly derived from the science and the values have their origin in religious or non-religious philosophies such as humanism and existentialism.Spirituality being an integral part of most of the religious philosophies provides the value system for the majority of people and thereby influences their well-being. Recognizing this, the spiritual well-being, in accordance with the social and cultural patterns, was accepted as one of the important

determinants of health by the World Health Organization during the 37th World Health Assembly in 1984.

Spiritual teaching has already found its place in the curriculum of many medical schools in the Western world. From a mental health perspective, spirituality seems to have a far greater role as these operate on the same ground – the brain or as some would like it call it the mind or the soul. In fact, there are studies that show positive as well as the negative impact of the spiritual and religious beliefs and practices on the physical and mental well-being of people who subscribe to spiritual or religious practices.

Sufism, having a large following both in the Muslim world and outside coupled with migration of large numbers of people from eastern Sufi oriented lands to the west, is a rapidly growing form of spirituality that needs to be understood in terms of its impact on the mental well-being of its followers and the potential interactions in the mental health care clinical settings.

From a more philosophical point of view, Sufism provides an opportunity to understand the source of religious knowledge in general and Islamic knowledge (revelation) in particular. In Sufi traditions, it is believed that Sufis can have similar knowledge revealing experiences as are the source of religious knowledge in the form of revelation of the Quran (the scripture of Islam) to Muhammad (the Prophet of Islam).

The study of these Sufi experiences which share phenomenological ground with the prophetic experiences of revelation provides a possibility for the scientific study of the sources of religious knowledge.

From day-to-day clinical practice to research, the study of the normal and abnormal perceptual/experiential phenomena and its implications form an integral part of the mental-health related

sciences and puts the students of mental-health sciences in a coveted position to study the Sufi experiences.

Historical background of Sufism

The term Mysticism had its beginning in the mystery cults of the Greeks, which involved a close circle of devotees who because of their innate capacity were believed to have the knowledge of the divine revealed to them.

Etymology aside, mysticism has been practiced since ages across all the cultures and has been a vital part of the major religions of the world. Perhaps it represents an innate desire of the man to understand himself and the world around. All forms of mysticism aspire for a union with the divine and believe that it is only possible through the purification of soul to receive direct knowledge and revelation from the divine.

Islam began in 610 AD and established itself through the teachings of Muhammad believed to be revealed to him by God through the archangel Gabriel primarily among the Arab pagan and Christian communities. The close contact between the Muslim and the Christian communities during the formative years of Islam had its influence on the development of the Sufism – the mystic traditions of Islam.

Sufism established itself within the traditions of the Islam as laid down in the Quran believed to be revealed to Muhammad by God. The Sufis believe that communion with God is possible through Muhammad, who was the recipient of the knowledge of the heart (*Ilm-e-Sina*) besides the outer knowledge (*Ilm-e-safina*).

Ali, one of the Muhammad's companions and son-in-law, is considered to be the first Sufi to whom the *Ilm-e-Sina* was revealed by Muhammad to be taught to those capable of understanding it. Contrary to the mainstream, some schools of thought in Islam denounce Sufism as heretical and consider it an innovation in Islam.

However, the concept of God, the possibility of esoteric knowledge and the ways to access God through purification of self by means of prayer, fasting and repentance that form the foundations of Sufism find their source in the Quran and the teachings of the prophet known as *Hadith*.

Sufism in the beginning was primarily an individual endeavor. The Sufis would usually live in isolation practicing self-mortification and were distinguished by a cloak of wool (*Suf*), a tradition of Muhammad, which is believed to be the origin of the word Sufi.

A group of such devouts lived a life of poverty and incessant prayer and fasting on a stone bench in front of Muhammad's mosque. These people of the bench (*Ashab-e-suffa*), 45 to over 300 in number, were given to much weeping and repentance and are believed to be the origin of the Sufism.

However, the name Sufi was given to such ascetics only around the second century of death of Muhammad. The Sufis in the early period were primarily ascetics and Sufism had not yet evolved into a fully developed system of theosophical doctrines, which became the core feature of the later Sufism.

The companions of Muhammad like Bilal, Salman Farsi, Ammar bin Yasir were the early mystics. Later with the spread of Islam Sufism flourished in Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Persia and Central Asia and gave birth to the renown Sufis like Rabia Basri, Hasan Basri, Junayd Baghdadi, Dhun Nun Misri, etc., around the 9th and 10th century.

As the early Sufi masters started teaching those in search of divine, a distinct tradition in the form of closely-knit communities centered around these masters flourished. The transformation of such communities into those, which shared a spiritual lineage, took place around the 11th century and led to the formation of Sufi orders (*silsilas*), chains through which they would eventually link their disciples to Muhammad.

The early Sufi orders like Muhasibis, Qassaris, Junaydis, Nuris, Sahlis, Hakimis, Kharrazis, Sayyaris, and Tayfuris though limited to particular geographic locales were influential in the development of Sufi thought.

Later major Sufi orders with a wider appeal were established around Sufi masters like Qadri by Abdul Qadir Jilani (Baghdad), Chishti by abu Ishaq Shami (Syria), Suharwardi by abu Najib Suharwardi, Yasavi by Ahmed Yasavi (Kazakhstan), Kubrawiya by Najmuddin Kubra (Central Asia), Rifai by Ahmed Rifai (Iraq), Shadhili by abul Hasan Shadhili (Morocco), Mevlavi by Jalal ud Din Rumi (Konya), Naqshbandhi by Bahauddin Naqshband (Bukhara), Nimatullahi by Nuruddin Muhammad Nimatullah (Syria) and Tijani by Abbas Ahmad ibn al Tijani (Algeria). The Sufi orders practiced presently run in hundreds but most of these represent the off shoots of the earlier ones.

The 13th century considered the golden age of Sufism was marked by the development of comprehensive mystical and theosophical doctrines of Sufism by the Sufi scholars like ibn ul Arabi of Spain, ibn ul Farid of Egypt and the popular Persian Sufi poet Jalal ud Din Rumi After the golden era the Arab-Muslim world produced only few notable Sufi scholars though the influence of Sufi orders continued to grow.

The rise of Wahabism in the late 18th and 19th century that condemned Sufism as a heresy and the social and political reforms in the Muslim world during the 20th century that considered Sufism as an impediment to development restricted the growth of Sufi philosophy and confined it to closely-knit circles of spiritual education.

Apart from the Christian asceticism, Hinduism had a significant influence on Sufism both in terms of the philosophical basis and the meditation practices, which started much before Sufism reached the Indian subcontinent.

The concept of existential unity of being (*wahdat-ul-wujood*) propounded by the ibn ul Arabi in the 13th century bears striking similarity to the Advaita philosophy (unified Brahma-Jnana) of the Puranas (ancient Hindu religious texts).

The concept of *wahdat-ul-wujood* has been a dominant philosophy in the later day Sufis which brought them closer to the Hindu mystics like Ramanand, Chaitanya, Ramanuja, Namdev, Mira Bai, Tukaram, and Ramdas, resulting in social movements like the Bhakti movement.

The Sufis also incorporated some of the meditation techniques from the Hindu mystics like the breathing techniques to facilitate their Sufi practices. In the 11th century, Saifuddin Kaziruni from Iran was the first Sufi to settle in the Indian subcontinent.

Later the subcontinent became home to some of the great Sufi saints and scholars such as Moinuddin Chishti, Nizamuddin Awliya, Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar, and Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki, whose teachings were influential in much of the growth and acceptance of Islam.

Sufism: The essence

The ultimate aim of the Sufi is communion with God through spiritual realization, which is achieved through the knowledge revealed by Quran (*ilm*) and the practice of Islam (*amal*).

Since its inception the Sufi philosophy has revolved around the concept of God and the ways and nature of communion with him. The early Sufis adhered strictly to the Quran in their interpretation of the concept of the God as infinite, eternal, unchangeable, creator, all-powerful, merciful and the cause of all existence. With the growth of Sufi philosophy, the concept of God changed from the one as the cause of all existence to the idea of God as the only real existence. This philosophy reached its ultimate in the concept of the *wahdat-ul-wujood*

Sufis regards the soul as the agency for communication with God. It is the higher soul, as Sufis believe, created before any human being came into existence, consisting of heart (*qalb*), spirit (*ruh*), and conscience (*sirr*) that has the ability to know God. The sirr is regarded by many Sufis to represent the "secret shrine of God himself, wherein he knows man and man can know him."

The heart (*qalb*) has an important place is Sufism and is considered to contain the divine spark that leads to spiritual realization. Sufis cherish the revelation by God that "I, who cannot fit into all the heavens and earths, fit in the heart of the sincere believer." For the heart (*qalb*) to reflect the truth as it is, it has to be cleansed of the rust of worldly influences.

The concept of the covenant (*misaq*) described in Quran "And (remember) when thy Lord brought forth from the children of Adam, from their reins, their seed, and made them testify of themselves (saying): Am I not your Lord? They said: Yea, verily. We testify. (That was) lest ye should say at the Day of Resurrection: Lo! Of this we were unaware" forms the basis of the Sufi philosophy of communion with God.

There is another soul (*nafs*) that Sufis regard as the seat of passions that creates hurdles in the communion of the higher soul with God. The *nafs* has to be transformed from *nafs-e ammara* (lustful soul; cf. Id) to *nafs-e lawwama* (self-blaming soul; cf. ego) and ultimately into *nafs-e mutmaenna* (peaceful soul; cf. super-ego) to return to truth.

Muhammad, has a special place in Sufism. The spiritual enlightenment or the ascendance of the higher soul for communion with God is believed to go through a chain of transmissions to Muhammad as through him only can the communion be achieved. Sufis refer to the saying of Muhammad "the first thing that Allah created was my light, which originated from his light and derived from the majesty of his greatness" as a basis for this belief. Sufis

believe that the ascendance is possible only through the process of purification of the soul – the way (*tareeqa*).

PSYCHIC EXPERIENCES IN SUFISM

Different perspectives

Spiritual or psychic experiences are a quite common occurrence across cultures and religions. Though there are no specific studies related to Sufism, surveys reveals the percentage of people having had psychic experiences to range from 20% to 45%; the frequency varying with the time, gender, religion, etc.

Surprisingly the experiences share many features notwithstanding the differences in practices, beliefs, and cultures within which they occur. The psychic experiences occur in the domains of thought, perception and feeling (a complex perceptual experience) and share certain features regardless of the domain. The psychic experiences, partly based on individual accounts of Sufis, are immediate, usually transient, ineffable, unanalyzable, involving intimate association with a unique other self, transcending time, space and person, and felt as a deep sense of bliss.

Historically, psychic experiences have been attributed to divine experiences, possession by demons, regarded as heresy and even insanity. The interpretations have varied with the political and religious environs of the times and have been influenced by the societal class of the claimant, the content of the experiences vis-à-vis the existing political and religious norms, gender, etc. The experiences have been interpreted to promote or discredit a particular political thought and even used as a plea for insanity. The case of two famous Sufis who claimed extreme forms of mystical experiences, Mansur al Hallaj and Bayazid Bastami needs a mention here. Both were and are considered as great Sufis on one hand and as heretics on the other and were even sentenced to death during their times for heresy.

Psychic experiences involve some experiences beyond the normal and Sufis claim these to be the source of ultimate knowledge (*marifa* or gnosis). The possibility of such knowledge yielding experiences has been questioned from philosophical and scientific perspectives. Kant rejected the possibility of the knowledge of ultimate as falling outside the sphere of human experience and hence its irrational nature. Sufi philosophers have argued for the possibility of such experiences as being only an extension of normal human experiences. The Sufi philosopher Fakhruddin Iraqi considered the possibility of these experiences as located in different orders of time and space (divine time and space) consequent to changes in the level of human consciousness.

The greatest impediment in the study of psychic experiences has been the subjective nature of these experiences, which contrasts with the classical objective nature of science.

Sufism and psychotherapy

Spiritual and religious beliefs form an important means of coping with stress for a large number of people but unfortunately this has received little attention by the mental health professionals. Recently, however, religion and spirituality have been incorporated into the therapeutic process and have shown promising results.

The assimilation of spirituality into the psychotherapeutic processes has been either in the form of an augmentation of an already existing therapeutic technique – spiritually augmented cognitive behavior therapy or the development of new techniques where spirituality itself forms the core – transpersonal psychotherapy. Though Sufi beliefs and practices have been incorporated into the transpersonal psychotherapy but there exists no literature about the incorporation of these into the cognitive behavior therapy models.

Spiritually augmented cognitive behavior therapy

Spiritually augmented cognitive behavior therapy is primarily a cognitive behavior therapy which incorporates the individual's belief system, specifically the spiritual, to focus on the existential issues. The therapist works with the individual's spiritual beliefs and practices like meditation, prayer, etc. but at no point attempts to instill his own beliefs or beliefs never held by the patient into the therapeutic process.

The therapy spans over 10-16 sessions, each session lasting 45-70 min conducted once a week. The therapy has demonstrated efficacy in controlled trials with reduction of relapse and re-hospitalization in the treatment group.

The Sufi themes of patience (*sabr*), trust in God (*tawwakul*), contentment (*rida*), and God as the ever-forgiver may have a significant impact in changing the negative cognitive schemas and coupled with the Sufi practices of remembrance of god (*zikr*) and thankfulness (*shukr*) may provide an appropriate framework for spiritually augmented cognitive behavior therapy for the Sufi believers.

Transpersonal psychotherapy

Transpersonal psychotherapy is based on the premise that human beings are essentially spiritual beings and hence the core qualities associated with spirituality form the goals of transpersonal psychotherapy.

The role of the therapist in transpersonal psychotherapy has been seen variously as ranging from a spiritual guide to a “fellow spiritual sojourner.” The therapist does not promote any specific spiritual philosophy and it is the client who leads and determines the spiritual content of the therapy.

Different spiritual practices, including Sufism, yoga, *qigong, aikodo* have been incorporated into the transpersonal psychotherapy. Transpersonal psychotherapy has been used for the

treatment of abnormal grief, spiritual crises, psychotic disorders and substance use disorders. Transpersonal psychotherapy can provide the basis for engagement of traditional faith healers with the mental health care services and given the magnitude of people who seek traditional faith healers this can have significant public health impact.

Sufism and mental health care services

A vast number of the mentally ill people in the community go untreated or seeks the help of spiritual healers in most of the developing countries. The reasons lie in the belief systems of the people which foster a spiritually oriented explanation of the mental illnesses and the practically non-existent mental health care services in most of the rural settings. The large number of mentally ill people thronging the shrines (*dargah*) of Sufi saints to seek cure is a testimony to this. The Erwadi (India) fire at the shrine of the Sufi saint Shaheed Valiyullah leading to the death of 28 mentally ill people should be a grim reminder of the cost of neglecting the incorporation of people's spiritual beliefs into the mental health care services. The incorporation of spiritual/Sufi elements into the mental health care services needs to be a two-fold process:

1. Incorporation of the spiritual/Sufi healers into the mental health care delivery system which may include basic training in identification of mental illnesses and appropriate referrals when needed.
2. Incorporation of the spiritual/Sufi beliefs and practices into the therapeutic process which may increase the utilization of mental health services by a largely spiritually oriented population.

The integration of spiritual beliefs and practices into the mental health care delivery system needs efforts both at the organizational and individual level. Sensitization of the trainees in the mental health profession to spiritual issues needs to be given an impetus.

The focus of the training should be on understanding of spirituality as an important part of the individual seeking help and a thorough understanding of the belief systems of the people in the practice area.

CONCLUSION

Sufi beliefs and practices form an integral part of the belief system of not only the majority of the Muslim world but also the western world where it is gaining popularity. Sufism provides a vital link to the understanding of revelation – the source of religious knowledge in Islam as well as other Semitic religions, and influences the mental health of its believers and practitioners in a significant way. Unfortunately, there is little in terms of research based evidence to draw any conclusions in both these directions. There is a need for research to evolve scientifically sound means of incorporation of Sufi beliefs and practices into the mental health care system before any dogmas strike their roots. At the same time, mental health professionals should not slide into the role of preachers and start promoting the Sufi beliefs and practices; the role should rather be restricted to utilizing these beliefs and practices where it forms a part of the belief system.

Psychological thought in Integral Yoga

Psychology: The Perpetual Discovery While physical and life-sciences have made rapid advances and known Nature to some extent, psychologythe science of human thought - has not made similar progress. It has yet to know the many hidden possibilities of our mind. Modern Western psychology basically suffers from the materialistic error of making the study of the mind dependent upon our knowledge of the body. Itsuffers, too, from "a sceptical error which prevents any bold and cleareyed investigation of the hidden profundities of our subjective existence; the error of conservative distrust and recoil which regards any subjective state or experience that departs from the ordinary operations of our mental and

psychical nature as a morbidity or a hallucination, - just as the Middle Ages regarded all new science as magic and a diabolical departure from the sane and right limits of human capacity; finally, the error of objectivity which leads the psychologist to study others from outside instead of seeing his true field of knowledge and laboratory of experiment in himself. "!

It must study all the facts of consciousness or, rather, all the planes of consciousness as well as the processes of the Inconscient, the subconscient and the superconscient self. To discover, possess and utilise them all should be the aim of psychology. Our deeper and greater self which is the source of all the facts of our consciousness is not inconscient in its nature, it is essentially superconscient and concealed from our waking self. It is this supreme discovery that opens before the individual the possibility of endless evolution. Modern psychology proceeds on two divergent lines of investigation. On the one hand it accepts the Inconscient as the basis of all existence, and like all other physical sciences studies the Inconscient forces working in Matter; it then works 'as a continuation of physiology', and regards Mind as a phenomenal result of the working of these forces. The ' Inconscient is thus raised to the level of a godhead. For modern psychology, "The Inconscient is gre ater than the conscient; it is the god, the magician, the creator whose action is far more unerring than the ambitious but blundering action of the conscious mentality."? For it, the plant kingdom is more perfectly guided in its growth process precisely because it is part of an unintelligent action whereas the conscious mentality of man is prone to error, open to ignorance and falsehood. The Inconscient, by the law of heredity and intuitive adaptation ensures the perpetuation of healthy and good types of species. Whereas man promotes degeneracy by misusing heredity in the false environment of his social life. A constructive science of eugenics, properly developed by man, could usefully accelerate usefully the selective process of Nature to the advantage of the human race .

There is the other line of psychological enquiry which leads us into the domain of occultism and the psychics. This investigation may not be as positive and tangible in its conclusions as the former, but it is wider and broaderbased , and capable of a much deeper and surer action. It embraces and explains our surface awareness; it indicates clearly the presence of a hidden Consciousness, subliminal to our waking state, perfect in power and action. The surface mind is only an appearance, a limited action of this subliminal Consciousness. The Upanishadic seers, too , arrive at the realisation of Brahman as the supreme Bliss of Existence after a series of graded experiences. Brahman is progressively realised by them as Matter, Life , Mind and infinite Knowledge, and finally as Bliss, - the highest mode of experience that an individual can reach. Unlike the premise of modern psychology , for which the Inconscient is the basis, the supremely Conscient is the truth of all existence for the Ancients. Ancient Indian psychology speaks of three states of awareness - the waking; the dream and that of deep sleep, jagrat,swapna, susupti.There is the strata of the inmost self that transcends them all - turiya. The Superconscient is unknown and unknowable to the human mind; it is self-collected and concentrated, all-embracing and all-possessing. It is the consciousness of manifold oneness and all delight, it is the omniscient and all-blissful womb of everything. It is unknown to the waking mind.

Yoga: The Psychology of Self-Perfection

Yoga is one of the means of knowing man and the workings of cosmic forces through Nature and life. It is the study of the human mind , and of the greater mind expressing itself in all beings and things. It leads to the perception of the divine Intelligence and Will working through individual and cosmic evolution. Yoga is a powerful and perfected method of union with this divine Intelligence and Will. It provides a path of quick and conscious seeking and union with the Divine on one or more planes of our being. While the physical and vital mind looks upon outer things, Yoga penetrates the surface

appearances and reaches the reality within them. It is a conscious method of turning within by the practice of three movements, - purification, concentration and identification. The mind as it is constituted deforms Reality and reflectes only the physical reality; it reflects even the physical universe not very perfectly and accurately because of its inherent limitation and incapability. The object of purification is to enable the mind to receive the light from above and reflect the Truth fully and perfectly.

The method of Yoga apart from being ethical is essentially psychological. It implies or, rather, necessitates "the consummate practice of a perfect psychological knowledge.'?" It is this practice that transforms philosophical abstraction into spiritual concreteness and the Yogin becomes 'a channel of God-consciousness and Godaction' . This perfect self-perfection which ensures a fundamental oneness with the Divine both in his being and nature is termed as siidrsya-mukti. This identity of the law of one's being with the in-dwelling Divine is what the Gita calls siidharmya-gati, and is attained only by an effective and total conversion of the limited and imperfect mental-vital nature of the seeker. The 'thinking mortal matter' of man conceals the Immortal, and Yoga is the most effective means of helping man to extricate himself from the stranglehold of surface life and surface-values and realise the Immortal. Yoga is the unveiling of the Godhead within; it is the best guide to self-exploration and self-conversion. While modern psychology with its scientific and materialistic basis deals with surface mind and surface values, Integral Yoga Psychology with its spiritual and supramental basis takes into consideration the whole nature of the real man. Man is essentially God in a closed chrysalis of animal-physical life. Yoga helps him to discover his realself, his infinite spiritual foundation. His mind-life-body complex is used by the spirit within him as a means for a unique individual and communal experience. It is for the purpose of its self-manifestation in the universe. "The spirit is an infinite existence limiting itself in apparent being for individual experience. It is an infinite consciousness which defines itself in finite forms of consciousness

for joy of various knowledge and various power of being. It is an infinite delight of being expanding and contracting itself and its powers, concealing and discovering, formulating many terms of its joy of existence, even to an apparent obscuration and denial of its own nature. In itself it is eternal Sachchidananda, but this complexity, this knotting up and unravelling of the infinite in the finite is the aspect we see it assume in universal and in individual nature . To discover the eternal Sachchidananda, this essential self of our being within us, and live in it isthe stable basis, to make its true nature evident and creative of a divine way of living in our instruments, supermind, mind , life and body, the active principle of a spiritual perfection.:" For the effectuation of its secret purpose in Nature the supreme Spirit uses Supermind, mind, life and body as its four effective instruments. Whereas the Supermind is a self-luminous infinite knowledge and a self-creative limitless power and grounded in unity, the mind is partially illusioned, limited and caught up in 'the separative action of diversity'. Because of its limitation and divisive nature mind works even as a power of ignorance.

While life is a link between mind and body, it is the creative energy of the Spirit that, operating within the parametres of physicality and mentality, supports and effects the formulations of the substance of matter and of mind. Life-energy is essentially the power of consciousness working and emerging in matter. It liberates mind from matter's stranglehold, it liberates all other higher powers too and makes it possible for their action in the material world. Likewise mind, too, is a power of consciousness that awakens in vitalised matter to its own awareness as well as to the awareness of all things around it. But mind and life are not restricted in their activity to material existence alone, they have their own planes of existence wherein their power of action is unrestricted, free and full. Life and mind are involved in matter, and seek to emerge and evolve out of it progressively because of a secret pressure exerted from above from their own native planes in addition to their own demiurge from within. Even as they are capable of subtler and greater and freer action, matter too is capable of refinement and transformation into

subtler forms of the substance of Spirit. It contains within it the secret powers of life, mind, illumined mind, intuitive mind, Overmind and the gnosis.

The Concept of Mind in Yoga Mind, as the Gita puts it, is the cause of both man 's bondage and release:

"mana eva manusyiiruim

kiiranam bandha-moksayoh"

Liberation lies in the perfect control of mental modifications, cittavrttis. It therefore becomes necessary to know clearly the mechanism of the mind - its structure and its functions. Mind or antahkarana, according to most schools of Indian philosophy, is composed of three vehicles, manas, ahamkara, and buddhi. Vedanta describes it as the antahkarana-catustaya.

It is of the nature of not-Self and is the cause of both bandha and moksa. Citta in Patanjali's Yoga psychology is the mind-stuff or, rather, the mind without its thought-content. In the Yoga-system, mind is mutable and can evolve into cittas or modes of mental existence which are divided into five categories. Pramanas or right knowledge, viparyaya or false knowledge, vikalpa or imagination, nidra or sleep and smriti or memory. Whereas citta-bhumis are different psychological dispositions. There are five states of citta: ksipta-avastha, which is dominated by rajas, mudha-avastha which is characterised by tamas, viksipta-avastha which is a mixed state of sattva and rajas, ekagra-avastha in which only sattva reigns supreme and niruddha-avastha in which one is even above sattva, and beyond all modifications or change. For Yoga, mind is all-pervasive and infinite in number as each is related to a purusha. In the context of its allpervasive nature, mind or citta is called the karana-citta. It is this that holds within itself the karya-citta as its manifestation. Again, it is karya-citta that further transforms itself as the asmita, the ten jnanendriyas and karmendriyas and the life

faculties. Mind is continually changing into its many states, and is of the nature of flux. There are three distinct forms of its modifications - knowledge, willing and feeling. The citta comes into contact with the external world through the medium ofthe sense-modifications. In the first stage which is that of indeterminate perception the external world is presented before the buddhi.

The Psychological Crisis and the Superconscient

Humanity today is passing through a crisis; it is a crisis 'more mental than material.' We are mentally diseased, morally deplete and spiritually uprooted. It is a crisis of consciousness, a crisis of the soul. Our present crisis, as one American sociologist put it, is 'total, epochal and global'. Our civilisation is on the decline, its disintegration is imminent. The challenge calls for a consciousness-response capable of comprehending problems of cosmic dimensions. Psychological counselling and surface therapeutic treatments are absolutely insufficient to cure our deeper malaise. There is a serious inner cleavage that calls for a total integration of personality. Our mental ill-health is the index of our psychological disintegration.

psychological change, an integral personality transformation. We have lost contact with our depth-dimension, we v have lost the meaning of life itself. Oursis an age of anxiety and of ego-obsession resulting in psychological and emotional imbalances. Excessive and exclusive pursuit of physical sciences has created a vacuum of meaning in our lives; it has alienated us from the truth of our existence. Our individual ego is matched only by our group or nationego in its blind self-aggrandisement. Though science has succeeded in breaking physical barriers between nations, the psychological distances still remain almost unaffected. There is, therefore, a genuine need to have a new centre of integration in our individual and group awareness, a new dimension of consciousness to take charge of personal, national and international affairs. Individual self-interest needs to be symbiotically blended with

cosmic awareness. The egocentric pattern of our present-day life-style has to be substituted by socio-centric and cosmo-centric attitudes. It is here that modern psychology can seek the guidance of Indian Yoga systems. It is in the creation of a spiritually integrated man that lies the key to a new world-order, which implies the action of the Superconscient. Adequate appreciation and application of both psychological and spiritual values in life is necessary for the establishment of an ordered and stable society. Technically and technologically we live in an atomic age , but mentally and emotionally we still belong to the Middle Ages. Psychoanalysis, analytical psychology and other psycho-bio-scientific approaches to the understanding of the psychological process in the human situation have their limitations, and fail to cure the malaise of the race. The malady is too deep for the techniques evolved in Western psychology. Man, it is true, is a biological and psychological being, but he is a spiritual being too. We therefore need to go beyond modern psychology to accomplish the goals set before psychology by psychology itself. The Integral Yoga Psychology of Sri Aurobindo, both in its vision and action, encompasses the entire gamut of consciousness, transmutes the insights of Ancient Indian psychology and by presaging the shortcomings of psychological tools and techniques accomplishes the miracle of integral transformation of personality. There are hopeful signs of this new psychology entering more and more into the arena. The development of an Integral Yoga Psychology would be a powerful aid in cultivating and harnessing the manifold inner energies towards the highest fulfilment of the race as well as in the ushering in of a new world-order. It will also enable us to experience and explain satisfactorily the many higher planes of consciousness leading to the Superconscient. Man, at present, is not conscious ofthe subconscient, the subliminal and the Superconscient within. He is aware only of his surface reality. Modern psychology is slowly becoming aware of the near depths, and not yet of the higher levels of consciousness. The aim of Integral Yoga Psychology is not only to discover them all, but to bring them into the open, into the parts

and planes of human existence, and with their light and power transform them into the supernature of the Divine.

the physical mind is grvmg way to a deeper probe unfamiliar to the uninformed reason. But here, too , it seems to be bogged down by the common mistaken view that mind and spirit are the same , that all consciousness is restricted to the mind alone, and that the body is merely unconscious matter incapable of spirituality. But spirit and mind are not the same : mind is an instrument of consciousness. Moreover, consciousness is not necessarily always spiritual. Also, it has to be realised that mind has parts, and not all the parts are spiritually inclined . While one part obeys the spiritual, the other can be strictly rational. If the psychic influence predominates, then it is the psychic mind. Psychology, no doubt, deals with mind and consciousness. but does not seek to find their true nature. It only tries to know their workings as well as the rule and law of these workings. Freud's psychoanalysis should never be associated with Yoga, for it takes up only the darkest and the most dangerous part of human nature - the lower vital- and attributes to it an action out of all proportion to its true role in human life. "Modern psychology is an infant science , at once rash , fumbling and crude. As in all infant sciences the universal habit of the human mind - to take a practical or local truth, generalise it unduly and try to explain a whole field of nature in its narrow terms - runs riot here. Moreover, the exaggeration of the importance of suppressed sexual impulses is a dangerous falsehood and it can have a nasty influence and tend to make the mind and vital more and not less fundamentally impure than before. " 15 The subliminal has in it the secret of our surface existence and explains our surface activities, whereas the lower-vital subconscious is just a minor or an inferior part of it. The subliminal conceals a larger mind, a more powerful vital as well as a subtler physical consciousness. It is only by opening up to the spiritual and subconscient ranges of consciousness that both the subliminal and the surface nature can be purified. The lower subconscious is the darkest and the foulest part of human nature and should be handled with great caution and care, and with the

right attitude. It is only after enriching the higher mind and the vital with the light and peace from above that one should turn to the subconscious and work for its purification. Sometimes the psychological process of purposeful indulgence may help in the exhaustion of a lower impulse, but more often it lends to continuous and repeated indulgence and its justification, and instead of raising up the lower movements into the light and full knowledge of a higher being, it makes the subject a helpless victim of the ignorant nature. A guidance from a higher consciousness is always safe and a must for any desired change in the concealed subconscious.

Integral Yoga Psychology

(i) Man by his very nature is spiritual. He is a dynamic psyche ever evolving, always integrating with the universe around him. He is a self-conscious mode of the infinite and the eternal though at present limited because of the compulsions of Nature's evolutionary process. He is a dual expression of both Being and Becoming, and manifests simultaneously the static and dynamic aspects of Reality. The static truth of his inmost existence - the impersonal eternal dimension - sanctions and supports, as it were, his creative nature, the historical dimension. The two dimensions, though distinguishable , are in fact inseparable. Integral Yoga Psychology aims at integrating the two dimensions with a view to intensify and advance the present evolutionary process. It attempts to bridge the gap between the distant ideal and the present human reality, - between the Superconscient wholeness and the existing limited selfawareness. According to Sri Aurobindo, this needs the intervention and supporting action of a cosmic and supracosmic consciousness-force , the Supermind. It isthe TruthConsciousness above that can unify this uniqueness of the individual with the relatedness of the universe in an ever glowing splendour of the transcendent. The three dimensions of the Divine -

the individual, the universal and the transcendent, are harmoniously and integrally effectuated in the action of the supramental.

(ii) Man is essentially a psychological phenomenon. If psychology has to study man, it should reach and comprehend all the levels of his being, both inner and outer, and not limit itself to the mind. It is the Yogic approach to the phenomenon of man that gives an adequate account of human personality and carries with it a clarity and a certitude of its own. Man is not limited to his physical existence alone, he is beyond body, life and even mind . Psychology should therefore not restrict itself to the observation of his superficial nature. A whole world of supra-physical and spiritual phenomena have to be discovered and brought under control before psychology can hope to be a perfect and dynamic science. Our surface existence is only a part of our being , there are many other planes below and above that support and succour our external personality. For below our conscious nature is the massive Inconscient out of which life emerges. The Inconscient is much vaster, larger and deeper; it is the womb of our surface existence and its workings. Also, behind our frontal ego-nature is the kingdom of the subliminal with its manifold powers and provinces that determine and dictate our doings. Integral Yoga Psychology is founded upon the experience of the integral self as the harmonious and indivisible unity of uniqueness, relatedness and transcendence. The basic insights of Integral Yoga Psychology as set forth in the writings of Sri Aurobindo include:

(1) The integral fullness or wholeness of the human-personality.

(2) The widest spectrum of experience ranging from the Inconscient to the Superconscient.

(3) The synthesis and fulfilment of all yogic methodsin the Integral Yoga of Sri Aurobindo.

(4) The crowning vision of Integral Reality, and the realisation of the supreme potential of man.

(5) The experience of the many planes or levels of consciousness reflecting the different dimensions of Reality .

(6) The dynamic and creative union with the Supreme being resulting in the mounting selfmanifestation of the Spirit.

What is Academic psychology in India: Pre-independence era; post-independence era; 1970s: The move to addressing social issues; 1980s: Indigenization; 1990s: Paradigmatic concerns, disciplinary identity crisis; ?

Academic psychology in India: Pre-independence era

The term Indian Psychology refers to the Psychologically relevant materials in ancient Indian thought. Usually this term does not cover modern developments in Psychology in India.

Modern Psychology at the beginning of the century emphasized sensation, perception and psychologists in India took out Indian theories of sensation and perception from the classics and created

an Indian Psychology. For example Indian theories emphasise the notion that in perception the mind goes out through the senses and assumes the shape of the objects.

In 1934, Jadunath Sinha wrote a book on Indian theories of perception. As soon as Western Psychologists started studying cognition, Indian Psychologists started looking for Indian theories of cognition. In 1958, Jadunath Sinha wrote a book on Cognition. Later on modern Psychology started emphasising emotions, and in 1981, Jadunath Sinha wrote a book on Emotions and the Will.

The major part of ancient Indian scriptures (Hindu, Buddhist and Jain) emphasise self-realization, samadhi or nirvana. After 1960 Humanistic Psychology emerged and Psychologists became interested in paranormal dimensions of growth. Maslow's theory of self-actualization and transcendental self-actualization established the link to the major part of ancient Indian theories and methods and almost the whole of ancient Indian writings became psychologically relevant. Psychology of Consciousness, Parapsychology, Psychology of Mysticism, Psychology of Religion and Transpersonal Psychology borrow extensively from Indian writings.

The terms Oriental Psychology, Buddhist Psychology, Yoga Psychology , Jain Psychology, etc. are frequently found in modern psychological literature now. Many book lists in Psychology now include books on Yoga, Buddhism and Zen. There seems to be a paradigm shift in Western Psychology, a shift from the notion of mental disease and healing to personal growth, the reference point shifting from the statistical average or "normal" to the ideal or upper limits of man's potentiality.

The rudiments of the theory of consciousness can be traced back to the Indus valley civilization (6000 to 1500 B.C.). Artifacts of a man sitting in Padmasana have been obtained in excavations.

The Swasthika symbol was used in Indus valley script. Buddhist thought and methods (6th century B.C.) are in line with the objective spirit of modern science and the law of parsimony of science and Buddhism can be easily incorporated into a scientific framework. The Psychological relevance of the four noble truths and eight-fold path and Sunya vada of Buddhism and Buddhist techniques of meditation are of considerable relevance in modern Psychology. Similarly Jain scriptures also are found to be relevant to Psychology in more than one way.

The Vedas date from about 1500 B.C.
However, Upanishads (appendices to the Vedas, which date from 600 B.C.) which describe the Vedanta philosophy and provide the theoretical foundation of Jnana Yoga are of more direct relevance to Psychology.

The Bhagavat Gita gives a quintessence of Indian way of life and philosophy and it describes the
four yogas, Karma, Bhakthi, Raja and Jnana. Several books have come on the psychological relevance of Gita. Maslow's theory of Meta-motivation is very similar to the concept of Nishkama karma outlined in the Gita.

Patanjali's Ashtanga Yoga is a very systematic presentation of Raja yoga. Both Bhagavat Gita and Ashtanga Yoga are supposed to have been written around the turn of B.C. to A.D. Sankara's writings (8th century A.D.) on the different yogas as well as his Advaita philosophy are considered as classics in the area and are of great value to the Psychology of consciousness as well as personal growth. Modern interest in relaxation can be traced to studies on Savasana. Rising popularity of meditation practice links Psychology to Oriental religious practices and philosophy.

Indian literature on aspects of consciousness is vast, considering the classics and their commentaries. Mental states have been analyzed, classified and differentiated in detail. Similarly paranormal

powers (siddhis) have been classified in detail. The process of personal growth and obstacles to growth have been examined thoroughly.

There is a great deal of maturity resulting from long experience in these areas reflected in the writings. Indian theories of linguistics, social behavior, crime, etc. are all based on the holistic approach and the broad-based intuitive understanding of behavior in contradistinction to Western theories which are piece-meal, analytic and situation specific.

The increasing importance given to the holistic approach and need for synthesis makes it possible to integrate modern Western Psychology with ancient Indian thoughts as well as methods.

The pre-independence Era

The Indian National Congress first convened in December 1885, though the idea of an Indian nationalist movement opposed to British rule dated from the 1850s. During its first several decades, the Congress Party passed fairly moderate reform resolutions, though many within the organization were becoming radicalized by the increased poverty that accompanied British imperialism. In the early 20th century, elements within the party began to endorse a policy of *swadeshi* ("of our own country"), which called on Indians to boycott of imported British goods and promoted Indian-made goods. By 1917 the group's "extremist" Home Rule wing, which was formed by Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Annie Besant the previous year, had begun to exert significant influence by appealing to India's diverse social classes.

In the 1920s and '30s the Congress Party, led by Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi, began advocating nonviolent noncooperation. The new change in tactics was precipitated by the protest over the perceived feebleness of the constitutional reforms enacted in early

1919 (Rowlatt Acts) and Britain's manner of carrying them out, as well as by the widespread outrage among Indians in response to the massacre of civilians in Amritsar (Punjab) that April. Many of the acts of civil disobedience that followed were implemented through the All India Congress Committee, formed in 1929, which advocated avoiding taxes as a protest against British rule. Notable in that regard was the Salt March in 1930 led by Gandhi. Another wing of the Congress Party, which believed in working within the existing system, contested general elections in 1923 and 1937 as the Swaraj (Home Rule) Party, with particular success in the latter year, winning 7 out of 11 provinces.

When World War II began in 1939, Britain made India a belligerent without consulting Indian elected councils. That action angered Indian officials and prompted the Congress Party to declare that India would not support the war effort until it had been granted complete independence. In 1942 the organization sponsored mass civil disobedience to support the demand that the British "quit India." British authorities responded by imprisoning the entire Congress Party leadership, including Gandhi, and many remained in jail until 1945. After the war the British government of Clement Attlee passed an independence bill in July 1947, and independence was achieved the following month. In January 1950 India's constitution as an independent state took effect.

Psychology as an academic discipline made a new beginning in India in the first decade of this century. Review of research shows that Western theories and concepts still constitute the core of research and teaching programmes in most of the Indian universities.

This chapter argues that Indian psychologists live in two parallel worlds: one of west-oriented academic psychology to advance professional growth; and another of less formalized scholarship to

satisfy their creative urges. As a result, academic psychology did not get enriched from diverse expertise and lifeexperiences of Indian psychologists. Though psychology has traversed a long distance in India, lack of direction has cast doubts about the application of psychology in the context of a rapidly changing socio-economic scenario.

Psychology in India has remained dissociated from its own vast storehouse of knowledge inherent in the Indian philosophical texts. These scriptures and texts provide immense possibilities of developing psychological theories of self and human development. At the turn of the Millennium, psychology in India is returning to its roots and a new beginning seems to be in the offing.

For almost a century, academic psychology in India has continued to be an alien discipline. In the beginning of the last Century, psychology was imported lock-stock-barrel from the West and was first implanted in 1916 in Calcutta University. The Western model of research and teaching provided the basis on which Indian research grew for a long period.

For Indian psychologists trained in the western traditions, it has been a long journey to turn towards their own heritage and take Indian concepts and theories germane to understanding Indian social reality. Indeed, in this long history, concerns have been voiced from time to time to align psychology with contemporary social issues, so as to meet the challenges of rapid socioeconomic and global changes. Looking back, one gets an impression that psychology in India has come a long way to find its roots in its own native wisdom, though it still has to cover much ground to become a science of Indian origin. Throughout its existence as an alien implant, psychology has been struggling to ground itself in the Indian soil and adapt to local conditions.

Over the years this implant has grown, with branches spreading all over the country. However, it has not borne fruits as expected and

has largely remained a sterile academic pursuit, as far as the real issues of national development are concerned.

The non-visibility of psychologists in various national forums gives rise to serious concerns about its relevance and future. What kind of psychology we aspire to have in the 21st century is contingent on a better understanding of the present state-of-the-art.

This chapter aims to examine the status of psychology in India as a scientific discipline, identifying the factors responsible for its retarded growth. This chapter also discusses the parallel movement now underway to rediscover the knowledge rooted in scriptures and folk practices, and explores its relevance in the present times. Three sets of arguments are put forward to explain the retarded growth of academic psychology in India.

One, which is more charitable, is the lack of a supportive intellectual climate. In a country where a vast population lives in a condition of subhuman poverty, and decisions about social developmental programmes are politically motivated, any scholarly pursuit is considered peripheral.

The academic institutions plagued by a rising student population, political manipulations and lack of funds have gradually become non-performers. There is no premium placed on excellence in teaching and research. Adair, Pandey, Begam, Puhan, and Vora (1995) conducted a study on 64 Indian psychologists through a mailed questionnaire. The survey revealed three major impediments to research productivity:

(a) lack of supportive intellectual climate,

(b) poor professional support, and

(c) inadequate research funding.

Ostensibly, the lack of an academic culture and a non-supportive socio-political environment are greatly responsible for the prevailing state of affairs. It does explain the overall decline in the academic standards in the country.

It, however, throws no light on 'why is psychology in India lagging behind other sisterly disciplines, such as sociology, anthropology and economics?' It brings forth the second line of argument that there are some inherent limitations in psychology as a scientific discipline.

In recent years there have been several good publications which enable a critical evaluation of the development of psychology in India. Some of these writings (Dalal, 1990, 1996, 2002; Misra & Gergen, 1993; D. Sinha, 1986, 1996; J.B.P. Sinha, 1993) have critically evaluated the progress of psychology. The five surveys of research in psychology (Mitra, 1972; Pareek, 1980, 1981; J. Pandey, 1988, 2001, 2004) cover important research contributions since the beginning of the last century. Pareek and T.V. Rao (1974a), Pestonjee (1986), and NCERT (1981) compiled psychological measures developed in India. Reports prepared by the University Grants Commission (UGC, 1968, 1982, 1999) deal with teaching and research programmes in universities.

Some empirical studies (Adair, 1989) have examined the professional status of the discipline of psychology. More recently, Misra (in press), K. Kumar (2005, 2008), Pandey and Singh (2005), Paranjpe (2006) and Varma (2004) have provided incisive understanding of the current status of psychology in India. These publications have formed the basis of preparing this review chapter.

Post-Independence History of Psychology in India

The history of the Republic of India began on 26 January 1950. The country had earlier become an independent dominion within the British Commonwealth on 15 August 1947.

At the time of granting independence, the Muslim-majority northwest and east of British India was separated into the Dominion of Pakistan, by the partition of India. The partition led to a population transfer of more than 10 million people between India and Pakistan and the death of about one million people. Jawaharlal Nehru became the first Prime Minister of India and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel became the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Home Affairs. The new Constitution of 1950 made India a secular and a democratic State.

Assassination of Mahatma Gandhi: The celebrations of independence had hardly died down when on 30 January 1948, a radical minded Hindu, Nathuram Godse, assassinated Gandhiji at Birla House, just before his evening prayers.

Refugee Problem: The Indian government had to stretch itself to the maximum to give relief to and resettle and rehabilitate the nearly six million refugees from Pakistan. By 1951, the problem of the rehabilitation of the refugees from West Pakistan was fully tackled.

However, the task of rehabilitating and resettling refugees from East Bengal was made more difficult by the fact that the exodus of Hindus from East Bengal continued for years. While nearly all the Hindus and Sikhs from West Pakistan had migrated in one go in 1947, a large number of Hindus in East Bengal had stayed on there in the initial years. However, as violence against Hindus broke out periodically in East Bengal, there was a steady stream of refugees from there year after year until 1971. Providing them with work and shelter and psychological assurance, remained a continuous and a difficult task.

Because of linguistic affinity the resettlement of the refugees from East Bengal could take place only in Bengal and to a lesser extent in Assam and Tripura. As a result, a very large number of people who had been engaged in agricultural occupations before their

displacement were forced to seek survival in semi-urban and urban contexts as the underclass.

Political Integration of India: At the time of independence, India was divided into two sets of territories—the first being the territories of "British India", which were under the direct control of the Governor-General of India, and the second being the "Princely States", the territories over which the Crown had suzerainty, but which were under the control of their hereditary rulers. In addition, there were several colonial enclaves controlled by France and Portugal. The political integration of these territories into India was a declared objective of the Indian National Congress, which the government of India pursued over the next decade. Through a combination of factors, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel convinced the rulers of almost all of the hundreds of princely States to accede to India. Having secured their accession, they then proceeded to, in a step-by-step process, secure and extend the central government's authority over these States and transform their administrations until, by 1956, there was little difference between the territories that had formerly been part of British India and those that had been part of princely States. Simultaneously, the government of India, through a combination of diplomatic and military means, acquired *de facto* and *de jure* control over the remaining colonial enclaves, which too were integrated into India.

The process, however, was not as successful in relation to the former princely State of Jammu & Kashmir, the accession of which to India was disputed by Pakistan, the State of Hyderabad, whose ruler was determined to remain independent, and the States of Tripura and Manipur, where active secessionist movements existed.

The Instruments of Accession were limited, transferring control of only three matters—Defence, Communication and External Affairs—to India, and would by themselves have produced a rather loose federation, with significant differences in administration and governance across the various States.

The first step in the process of complete merger, carried out between 1947 and 1949, was to merge the smaller States that were not seen by the government of India to be viable administrative units either into neighbouring provinces, or with other princely States to create a “princely union”. The bulk of the larger States, and some groups of small States, were integrated through a different, four-step process. In return for agreeing to the extinction of their States as discrete entities, the rulers were given a privy purse and guarantees similar to those provided under the Merger Agreements.

First General Elections: Democracy took a giant step forward with the first general election held in 1951-52 over a four-month period. These elections were the biggest experiment in democracy anywhere in the world. The elections were held based on universal adult franchise, with all those twenty-one years of age or older having the right to vote. There were over 173 million voters, most of them poor, illiterate, and rural, and having had no experience of elections. The big question at the time was how would the people respond to this opportunity.

Reorganisation of States: Potti Sreeramulu’s fast-unto-death, and consequent death for the demand of an Andhra State in 1953 sparked a major re-shaping of the Indian Union. Pt Nehru appointed the States Reorganization Commission, upon whose recommendations, the States Reorganization Act was passed in 1956. Old states were dissolved and new States created on the lines of shared linguistic and ethnic demographics. The separation of Kerala and the Telugu-speaking regions of Madras State enabled the creation of an exclusively Tamil-speaking State of Tamil Nadu. On 1 May 1960, the States of Maharashtra and Gujarat were created out of the Bombay State.

Post-Nehru India:

Jawaharlal Nehru died on 27 May 1964. Lal Bahadur Shastri succeeded him as Prime Minister. In 1965 India and Pakistan again

went to war over Kashmir, but without any definitive outcome or alteration of the Kashmir boundary. The Tashkent Agreement was signed under the mediation of the Soviet government, but Shastri died on the night after the signing ceremony. A leadership election resulted in the elevation of Indira Gandhi, Nehru's daughter, as the third Prime Minister.

Birth of Naxalism:

The CPM had originally split from the united CPI in 1964 on grounds of differences over revolutionary politics, (equated with armed struggle) and reformist parliamentary politics. A section of the party, consisting largely of its younger cadres and inspired by the Cultural Revolution then going on in China, accused the party leadership of falling prey to reformism and parliamentary politics and, therefore, of betraying the revolution. They argued that the party must immediately initiate armed peasant insurrections in rural areas, leading to the formation of liberated areas and the gradual extension of the armed struggle to the entire country. To implement their political line, the rebel CPM leaders launched a peasant uprising in the small Naxalbari area of northern West Bengal. The CPM leadership immediately expelled the rebel leaders accusing them of left-wing adventurism, and used the party organization and government machinery to suppress the Naxalbari insurrection. The breakaway CPM leaders came to be known as Naxalites and were soon joined by other similar groups from the rest of the country. The Naxalite movement drew many young people, especially college and university students, who were dissatisfied with existing politics and angry at the prevailing social condition.

India goes nuclear:

India achieved a major success in terms of a breakthrough in science and technology when the Atomic Energy Commission detonated an underground nuclear device at Pokhran in the deserts of Rajasthan on 18 May 1974. The Indian government, however,

declared that it was not going to make nuclear weapons even though it had acquired the capacity to do so. It claimed that the Pokhran explosion was an effort to harness atomic energy for peaceful purposes and to make India selfreliant in nuclear technology.

Green Revolution and Operation Flood:

India's long-standing food crisis was resolved with greatly improved agricultural productivity due to the Green revolution. The government-sponsored modern agricultural implements, new varieties of generic seeds and increased financial assistance to farmers that increased the yield of food crops such as wheat, rice and corn, as well as commercial crops like cotton, tea, tobacco and coffee. Increased agricultural productivity expanded across the States of the IndoGangetic plains and Punjab. Under Operation Flood, government encouraged production of milk and improved rearing of livestock across India. This enabled India to become self-sufficient in feeding its own population, ending two decades of food imports.

Emergency:

Economic and social problems, as well as allegations of corruption caused increasing political unrest across India, culminating in the Bihar Movement. In 1974, the Allahabad High Court found Indira Gandhi guilty of misusing government machinery for election purposes. Leading strikes across India, that paralyzed its economy and administration, Jay Prakash Narayan even called for the Army to oust Mrs. Gandhi. In 1975, Mrs. Gandhi advised President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed to declare a state of emergency under the Constitution, which allowed the Central government to assume sweeping powers to defend law and order in the nation. Many civil liberties were suspended and elections postponed at national and State levels. Non-Congress governments in Indian states were dismissed, and nearly 1,000 opposition political leaders and

activists were imprisoned and programme of compulsory birth control was introduced.

Although, India's economy benefited from an end to paralyzing strikes and political disorder, many organs of government and many Congress politicians were accused of corruption and authoritarian conduct. Police officers were accused of arresting and torturing innocent people.

Post Emergency:

Mrs. Indira Gandhi called for general elections in 1977, only to suffer a humiliating electoral defeat at the hands of the Janata Party, an amalgamation of opposition parties. *Morarji Desai became the first non-Congress Prime Minister of India.* The Desai administration established tribunals to investigate Emergency-era abuses, and Indira and Sanjay Gandhi were arrested after a report from the Shah Commission. But in 1979, the coalition crumbled and Charan Singh formed an interim government. The Janata Party become intensely unpopular due to its internecine warfare, and the fact that it offered no leadership on solving India's serious economic and social problems. Ultimately, the Janata Party split in to its original constituents. The January Sangh emerged in its new avatar as Bhartiya Janata Party.

Indira Gandhi and her Congress party splinter group, Congress (Indira) were swept back into power with a large majority in January 1980. But the rise of an insurgency in Punjab jeopardized India's security. In Assam also there were many incidents of communal violence between native villagers and refugees from Bangladesh, as well as settlers from other parts of India. When Indian forces, undertaking Operation Blue Star, raided the hideout of Khalistan militants in the Golden Temple—Sikhs' most holy shrine— in Amritsar, in June 1984, the inadvertent deaths of civilians and damage to the temple building inflamed tensions in the Sikh

community across India. Northeast India was also paralyzed owing to the ULFA's clash with government forces.

On 31 October 1984, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's own Sikh bodyguards assassinated her, and anti-Sikh riots erupted in Delhi and parts of Punjab, causing the deaths of thousands of Sikhs.

Post Indira Gandhi:

After the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi, the Congress party chose Rajiv Gandhi, her older son, as the next Prime Minister. The Parliament was dissolved and Rajiv led the Congress party to its largest majority in history (over 415 seats out of 545 possible) in the general elections, reaping a sympathy vote over his mother's assassination.

Rajiv Gandhi initiated a series of reforms—the license raj was loosened, and government restrictions on foreign currency, travel, foreign investment and imports decreased considerably. This allowed private businesses to use resources and produce commercial goods without government bureaucracy interfering, and the influx of foreign investment increased India's national reserves. Rajiv's encouragement to science and technology resulted in a major expansion of the telecommunications industry, India's space program and gave birth to the software industry and information technology sector.

In 1987, India brokered an agreement between government of Sri Lanka and rebel LTTE, and agreed to deploy troops for peacekeeping operation and to disarm the Tamil rebels. Butm the Indian Peace Keeping Force became entangled in outbreaks of violence—ultimately ending up fighting the Tamil rebels itself, and becoming a target of attack from Sri Lankan nationalists.

Rajiv Gandhi's image as an honest politician was shattered when the Bofors scandal broke, revealing that senior government officials had taken bribes over defence contracts with the Swedish

manufacturer. As the Defence minister in Rajiv Gandhi's government, Mr V.P. Singh had unearthed the Bofors scandal, and was sacked from the party and office. Becoming a popular crusader for reform and clean government, he led the Janata Dal coalition to a majority in 1989 elections. He was supported by BJP and the Leftist parties from outside. Becoming Prime Minister, Singh started to implement the controversial Mandal commission report, to increase the quota in reservation for low caste Hindus. The BJP protested these implementations, and took its support back, following which he resigned. Chandra Shekhar split to form the Janata Dal (Socialist), supported by Rajiv's Congress. This new government also collapsed in a matter of months, when Congress withdrew its support.

Post Rajiv Gandhi: On 21 May 1991, while former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi campaigned in Tamil Nadu on behalf of Congress (I), a Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) female suicide bomber assassinated him and many others. In the elections, Congress (I) won 244 Parliamentary seats and put together a coalition, returning to power under the leadership of Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao. This Congress-led government, which served a full 5-year term, initiated a gradual process of economic liberalisation and reform, which opened the Indian economy to global trade and investment. India's domestic politics also took new shape, as traditional alignments by caste, creed, and ethnicity gave way to a plethora of small, regionally-based political parties.

In 1992, India was rocked by communal violence between Hindus and Muslims that killed over 10,000 people, following the **Babri Mosque demolition** by Hindu extremists in the course of the Ram Janmabhoomi dispute in Ayodhya. The final months of the Rao-led government in the spring of 1996 suffered the effects of several major political corruption scandals, which contributed to the worst electoral performance by the Congress Party in its history as Bharatiya Janata Party emerged as largest single party.

Era of Coalitions: The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) emerged from the May 1996 national elections as the single-largest party in the Lok Sabha but without enough strength to prove a majority on the floor of the Parliament. Under Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee, the BJP coalition lasted in power 13 days. With all political parties wishing to avoid another round of elections, a 14-party coalition led by the Janata Dal emerged to form a government known as the United Front. A United Front government under former Chief Minister of Karnataka H.D. Deve Gowda lasted less than a year. Congress (I) withdrew support in March 1997.

Inder Kumar Gujral replaced Deve Gowda as the consensus choice for Prime Minister of a 16-party United Front coalition. In November 1997, the Congress Party again withdrew support for the United Front. New elections in February 1998 brought the BJP the largest number of seats in Parliament (182), but this fell far short of a majority. On March 20, 1998, the President inaugurated a BJP-led coalition government with Mr Vajpayee again serving as Prime Minister.

First Sikh Prime Minister of India: In January 2004, Prime Minister Vajpayee recommended early dissolution of the Lok Sabha and general elections. The Congress Party-led alliance won an surprise victory in elections held in May 2004. Manmohan Singh became the first Sikh Prime Minister of India.

First Female President of India: In 2007, Ms Pratibha Patil became India's first female President. Long associated with Nehru–Gandhi family, Pratibha Patil was a low-profile Governor of Rajasthan before emerging as the favoured Presidential candidate.

2009 Elections: In the 2009 General Election, the Congress-led United Progressive Alliance won a convincing and resounding 262 seats, with Congress alone winning 206 seats. Mr Manmohan Singh was re-elected as the Prime Minister.

2014 Elections: On 16 May 2014, ending the BJP's 10-year political 'vanvaas', Narendra Damodardas Modi scripted a never-before win for the party, helping it cruise to power on its own steam at the Centre by breaking a three-decade old trend of fractured mandates. BJP attained a comfortable majority of 282 seats on its own.

20th century psychology in India:

A western implant Indian scriptures dating back thousands of years extensively dealt with the analysis of states of consciousness and contents of mental activities. The important feature of this early exposition is that it is mostly experiential and is a culmination of centuries-old tradition of self-verification. In the ancient Indian scriptures no rigid distinction among religion, philosophy, and psychology was maintained.

The overriding consideration was to help individuals in their pursuit of selfrealization and liberation from the miseries of life. In this world-view, the source of all suffering was presumed to be within the person, and thus the emphasis was on exploring the 'world within', to alleviate the suffering. The goal was to seek enduring harmony of spirit, mind and body for everlasting happiness. The yoga system evolved very sophisticated mind-control techniques in this pursuit. In contemporary literature this broad field of inquiry is referred to as „Indian Psychology".

These rich traditions, however, had little bearing on academic psychology implanted in India as a Western science during the British rule. Scientific psychology with laboratory work was a novel approach, not having any parallel in traditional Indian psychology. Psychology was first introduced as a subject in the Philosophy Department at Calcutta University.

Brojendra Nath Seal who was the then King George V Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy drafted the first syllabus for

experimental psychology and established a laboratory for demonstration purpose in 1905. Eleven years later this laboratory was upgraded as the first psychology department, the Department of Experimental Psychology.

Narendra Nath Sengupta, who chaired this department, had his education at Harvard University with Hugo Munsterberg, a student of William Wundt. Laboratory research at Calcutta in the areas of depth perception, psychophysics, and attention inspired early work at other centres. Recognizing the scientific nature of research, psychology was included as a separate section in the Indian Science Congress in 1923.

Thus, psychology in India at an early stage acquired the status of a science along with physical and biological sciences, something which Western psychology achieved only after a long struggle. The Indian Psychological Association was founded in 1924 and the Indian Journal of Psychology, the first psychology journal in India, appeared the very next year.

Before these experimental traditions could consolidate, Sengupta left Calcutta. He was succeeded by Girindra Shekhar Bose. Being a medical doctor and a psychiatrist who was in close contact with Sigmund Freud, Bose showed much enthusiasm to promote psychoanalysis.

In 1922 he founded the Indian Psychoanalytic Society, which two years later was affiliated with the International Psychoanalytic Society. Bose received his Ph.D. from Calcutta on the 'concept of repression', the first Ph.D. from any Indian University in psychology. He established the Lumbini Park Mental Hospital in Calcutta in 1940, and in 1947 brought out a journal 'Samiksha'.

The Department started an Applied Psychology Wing in 1938, when Jung, Meyers, and Spearman were invited to the Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress.

Two worlds of Indian psychologists

The concepts and theories in Western psychology have their genesis in the social upheavals in Europe in the 19th Century with the metamorphosis from an agrarian to an industrial society. The discipline evolved to comprehend the complex social realities and the problems of industrialization. With the imperial expansion of modern capitalism, the influence of western knowledge in the colonized societies was inevitable. The popularity of English-medium education made writings of western thinkers accessible to Indian scholars.

A large body of this knowledge was alien, even in contradiction to that which was prevalent in the colonized traditional societies. The contradictions were more glaring in colonies, like India, having a strong sense of cultural identity and a rich heritage of scholarly work. In the West, psychology had moved away from theology and philosophy, and had developed its own methods of inquiry based on the natural science models.

Indian psychologists saw that in applying western psychology there was an opportunity of developing a secular identity distinct from that of religion and philosophy, which was not possible within indigenous intellectual traditions integrating philosophy, spirituality and psychology.

Moreover, due to the neglect of many centuries, Indian psychology was not well equipped to examine the contemporary world and did not have tools to explain the existing social and moral decay of the Indian society. There were no new concepts, theories and methods in Indian psychology applicable to the changing individual and social order.

How Indian psychologists before Independence lived in two different worlds can be illustrated with some examples. Sir Brojendra Nath Seal, who established the first psychology laboratory in the country

to promote experimental psychology, was a great historian of ancient Indian science and was the inspiration for Jadunath Sinha to bring out his monumental work on Indian psychology. N. N. Sengupta who was trained to be an experimental psychologist had a large number of non-empirical papers in scientific journals.

His writings covered the whole range from the psychology of mysticism to the psychology of Western dance. Sengupta did not stay in Calcutta for long and joined the Philosophy Department at Lucknow University. There he coauthored a book with an eminent sociologist, Radhakamal Mukherjee,

'Introduction to Social Psychology' in the year 1928. The orientation of this book was more sociological than psychological. As Rajanarayan (1983) wrote in his biographical note, he turned religious and got interested in mystical traditions and published work in this area. Girindra Shekhar Bose had, along with his important work in the area of psychoanalysis, serialized an interpretation of the holy Gita in the prestigious Bengali magazine 'Pravasi' without any direct reference to psychoanalytic concepts (Nandy, 1995). Bose also wrote a long commentary on Indian sacred texts in Bengali, titled 'Purana Pravesa'.

Gopalswami, who was at Mysore, came from an affluent background and maintained interest in two diverse fields - intelligence testing and animal laboratory work and besides, he had his own private radio station and was involved in various cultural activities. These illustrations are cited to give some clues about how Indian psychologists managed to live simultaneously in two worlds with little overlap. Thus it is no surprise that Indian psychologists remained apolitical all along.

There is no reflection in their work of the predominant social and political movements, even that of the freedom movement. Indian psychologists remained on the edge of the society, as far as their professional activities were concerned. Their research lacked

continuity, commitment and conviction. The situation changed only marginally after Independence.

It may be argued that a vast majority of Indian psychologists have shied away from Indian psychological perspectives because of this attitude and the religio-philosophical context in which those perspectives are embedded. But, paradoxically a majority of them share the same socio-cultural context with the rest of the Indian population and are guided by the same religiophilosophical perspectives, which have shaped the attitudes, emotions, motivations, morals, values, etc., of the Indian masses in their day-to-day living! As Kiran Kumar (2008) observed, this situation has created some kind of a split in the personality – psychologist as a professional vs. psychologist as a person – and it has contributed for lack of creativity and originality in what one does, and draining of personal resources and energy resulting in „burn out" among many.

A psychologist in his/her role as a scientist conducts the professional activities with one set of assumptions and beliefs and as a person lives and acts with another set of assumptions and beliefs among fellow humans.

One reason why Indian psychologists could live in two parallel worlds was probably because the colonial rulers did not see much utility of psychology in consolidating their empire. This, for example, was not true in the case of sociology and social anthropology, which had much to contribute to the smooth functioning of the colonial administration in India (Dhanangare, 1985).

Indian culture and society was totally unfamiliar to the colonial officials when they first arrived. The unique systems of caste, religion, tribal and rural communities, rituals, beliefs, traditions were all baffling to an Englishman. These had no parallel in the experiences of the Western societies.

Thus, in the absence of proper understanding of Indian social realities the colonial administrators were facing many problems in their smooth functioning. There was much urgency and support for research on these topics.

Neither Indian psychology nor western psychological research held any such promise and were largely ignored. It is understandable that the Britishers did not promote psychology in India in the same way as they did in the case of sociology and social anthropology.

The 1970s crisis: the core debates

Since the growth of knowledge is socially conditioned, the developments of psychology in India including its theories and concepts need to be appreciated in the local and global historical and sociocultural matrix in which the country has been positioned. Being a developing country with millennia-old culture, a richly diverse society, and a two-century-long colonial past, India is currently aspiring to emerge as a self-reliant and economically strong nation. Faced with the challenge of socioeconomic transformation, the country has been engaged in efforts toward industrialization, modernization, and globalization.

Navigating through this difficult terrain has been a complex challenge and has shaped the developments in the academic disciplines also. India has been engaged with rapid growth of higher education and rapid expansion of professional institutions to meet the increasing demand for trained personnel in various service sectors like health, administration, banking, police, military, and management. The cultural complexity of India due to diversity in ecology, language, religion, family structure, and uneven introduction of technology has put a challenge before the planners to ensure social welfare through democratic processes. This context has shaped the course of higher education in general and psychology in particular.

The challenge to relate India's past and modern psychology was a main concern in the early period and continued since then. In fact, the search for a distinct identity for psychology in the Indian context has remained a key issue. Theoretical innovations came from the real world as well as the difficulties faced in applying psychological knowledge to the diverse problems faced in the Indian conditions. In the course of the disciplinary journey, the theoretical–conceptual ambience of the works of Indian psychologists has undergone several shifts in themes, alignments, and emphases.

The teaching and research in modern psychology began largely as an extension of the EuroAmerican tradition in the British period. Its initial emphasis was not so much on questioning and doubting the Western concepts and methods, but on preserving the essential configuration of the discipline and keeping it as similar to the one in the Western world, as possible. We also note that there existed a tradition of British psychoanalysts who tried to offer interpretations of the Indian psyche to justify the British rule.

(Citing Christine Hartnack's work Vahali (2011) has discussed at length how early British psychoanalysts tried to create universal psychoanalytic conceptualizations that explain away Indian experiences of selfhood, or view them as essentially inferior, less worthy or simply pathological, or otherwise deficient. It acted as a tool to justify social oppression and colonial rule). In the mainstream critical paradigmatic questions of ontology and epistemology were sidelined to give space for the newly emerging positivist scientific enterprise. We find that the Western model of research and teaching provided the initial necessary direction to Indian psychologists. Dependence on Western thought was deemed legitimate owing to unexamined theoretical suppositions about the universality of psychological knowledge. It was largely in the 1970s that many psychologists raised the issue of insufficient and inadequate attention to socialpsychological problems.

The Indian psychologists realized that they had been indifferent to the vast and rich collection of knowledge inherent in the Indian texts. However, the commitment to scientific inquiry was venerated and debates related to the philosophy of science and related arguments could not receive due attention until the 1980s (Mukherjee 1980; Misra and Gergen 1993; Varma 1995). Also, there has been a constant pressure for problem solving and application in the social world (Sinha 1986).

Early Efforts

Keeping in mind the colonial background of modern learning in India, the mandate of initiating scientific psychology in the prevalent Wundtian tradition and subsequently in the behaviorist tradition was a natural choice. The eagerness to attain an independent identity for the discipline constituted the package of academic delivery consisting of empirical work, positivist metatheory, a universalistic stance, and the presumption of cultural immunity of psychological concepts and theories.

In terms of the institutional structure, psychology was earlier a part of philosophy departments. Separate psychology departments were started largely between 1940 and 1960. In order to maintain a separate identity, the teaching and research practices opted to fashion themselves as differently as possible from the parental discipline of philosophy and similar to the physical and natural science disciplines. To this end, they over-emphasized experimental psychology and psychometry – the distinctive features of the new science – and made them the core of psychology curricula which continues till today. Indeed, empiricism and quantification made possible the flourishing of an empiricist-positivist brand of psychology aimed at generating and testing nomothetic laws as objectively as possible.

However, it will be a mistake to ignore another feature of the academic prowess of the first generation of Indian psychologists.

They were also cognizant of their cultural roots and tried to address the academic as well as nonacademic audiences. In a pioneering work entitled The Science of the Emotions, Bhagwan Das (1908) presented a rich account of the Indian science of affect. G. S. Bose wrote about the Upanishads and mythology in Bangla language and had an academic fascination for psychoanalysis (see Dalal 2002).

Early researchers did attend to the theoretical issues and noted the importance of traditional knowledge but did not reject modern theories. It is interesting to note that even during the early part of the development in India, many indigenous lines of inquiry were also prevalent. Examples that highlight this trend include Asthana's (1950) work on Sāṁkhya theory of personality and Indra Sen's (1986) elaboration of the integral psychology of Sri Aurobindo. E.G. Parameshwaran started research on the Triguṇa (sattva, rajas, and tamas) theory (Uma et al. 1971) which has been followed by several studies (see Salagame 2011).

We also find works on the Indian typology of personality (Krishnan 1976/2002) and tantra (Mukerji 1926). Some notable works were undertaken from the Western tradition for further study. For instance, Asthana (1960) proposed that perceptual distortion is the function of the valence which an object acquires from the field structure in which it exists.

In this way he tried to resolve the differences between gestalt and learning theories and incorporated Lewin's field theory. In the area of learning theories, the S-R theory was challenged by Kothurkar (1968).

A Socially Relevant Psychology In the 1980s, several lines of investigation across many domains of social psychological processes showed that many of the phenomena reported in Western research literature required different explanations rooted in the Indian cultural milieu. Examples of this kind are found in the areas of social cognition. Thus predictions from attribution theory

with socially and culturally specific causal categories were tested for understanding achievement, health, and other aspects of human behavior (Dalal 1988).

The change took place when psychologists found the applications of Western theories/methods to be either ineffective or irrelevant in real life situations in India. A selective overview of some of these developments in key areas is presented below. Human cognition: Researches on attention, emotion, and consciousness (see Srinivasan 2011),

by using multiple methods and approaches, have shown cross-cultural aspects of emotion as well as of meditation, in terms of underlying neurophysiology. There are also researches on philosophical aspects of cognition that view cognition and other mental phenomena as central to the functioning of all living beings. To put it another way, the fundamental principles governing cognition run from a single cell to human societies. Planning is a key intellective function.

Extending the earlier work on PASS (Planning, Attention, Successive, and Simultaneous Processes) theory, Das et al. (2000) have brought out its significance in various cognitive functions.

Psychology of poverty and deprivation:

The study of poverty and deprivation has been an important area of research where researchers in different parts of the country (e.g., Rath at Bhubaneshwar, A.K. Singh at Ranchi, D. Sinha at Allahabad, L.B. Tripathi and G. Misra at Gorakhpur) moved in many directions and have mapped the diverse effects of poverty, social disadvantage, and deprivation (for a comprehensive review see Misra and Tripathi 2004). Most of these studies have situated deprivation in the experiential-environmental context and have traced its detrimental influences back to aspects of development.

The detrimental effects of poverty are accentuated by the unfavorable proximal environment of the child.

Thus, intervention should address not only the cognitive-attentional drawbacks of the children but also the conditions prevailing in the family and school settings. They should be planned to create in the people a sense of empowerment to effect change in their life conditions. Unfortunately, the planning rooted in the Western model of development often ignores the traditional attitudes, beliefs, and values, and considers them antithetical to development ideology. There is growing evidence that social-psychological problems of Indian society are now being increasingly addressed by psychologists.

The challenge of achievement:

The economic and social development was an important concern for a developing country like India. The theoretical analysis by McClelland underscored the significance of achievement motivation (n-Ach) as a driving engine for development. The lack of emphasis on individualistic and competitive spirit and independence were identified as the main causes of underachievement. This became the basis for a major intervention program at Kakinada in Tamil Nadu, as reported in Motivating Economic Achievement (McClelland and Winter 1969). It provided impetus for promoting entrepreneurship.

The relevance of achievement motivation theory was, however, Indian challenged (e.g., Sinha 1968). The perceived value of various achievement goals is determined by the expectations of significant others. The concepts of “extension motivation” (Pareek 1968), “dependency proneness” (Sinha 1968), “achievement value” (Mukherjee 1974), and “dissatisfaction-based achievement motivation” (Mehta 1972) are important contributions.

Move Toward Indigenization

The indigenous thought systems remained neglected because there was a strong aversion toward them owing to doubts regarding their scientific status, contemporaneous relevance, and ontological suppositions (see Gergen et al. 1996). Psychological theories and constructs were taken as intrinsically biological, materialistic/objective in content, and quantitative in methodological approach.

Therefore psychology, like other natural and physical sciences, was thought to be culture and psychological processes as distributed/shared uniformly across diverse cultures and sub-cultures. This spurred the need for a radical change in cross-cultural psychology's universalist stance, and its almost exclusive focus on the discovery of panhuman patterns of behavior.

"There was an implicit assumption that the definition of… concepts and their measurement as proposed by the Western research workers will also hold good in our cultural context" (Mukherjee 1980). The signs of efforts to outgrow the alien frame were noticed in the 1970s. The search for a new identity became a major question. Culture-specific concepts, and a search for culturally appropriate methods and tools were emphasized and the relevance of culture was realized. In this context,

the interaction with cross-cultural and cultural psychologists has provided important impetus. Gradually, blending scientific ways with indigenous concepts emerged as an important academic agenda (Sinha 1997). Ramanujan (1990) has emphasized context sensitivity as the key feature of Indian way of thinking. Critical reflections (Misra and Gergen 1993; Nandy 2004; Varma 1995) have drawn attention to the limitations of natural science-based approaches and to new possibilities. It was realized that an understanding of Indian social reality would benefit from indigenous psychological knowledge and the discipline should contribute to the programs of socioeconomic development. Rao (2002, 2011) has discussed human cognitive processes from the perspective of

SāṁkhyaYoga system. According to this system, there are two principles that govern our existence – puruṣa (consciousness) and prakṛti (matter).

Puruṣa is pure consciousness and has no quality or characteristics of its own; it is inert and formless. Prakṛti, on the other hand, is the material basis of our being. In Yoga, citta denotes the functional mind, which comprises of not only the cognitive processes, the ego and the senses, but also contains instinctual tendencies (vāsnās) inherited from previous lives and the effect of past actions in the present life (saṁskāras).

They influence our cognitions and predispose us to behave in certain ways. In Yoga, citta controls our actions. Information processing in citta may take place at three levels that is, buddhi, ahaṁkāra (egoic self), and manas. Manas, the central processing unit, selects information provided by the sensory system and processes them.

Ahaṁkāra (the emotional self) appropriates the processed information from manas and considers it as required by the perceiving person. And, buddhi decides and plans the actions and reactions in an appropriate manner.

At the start of the 1960s, American social psychology was a thriving and active field of study. The discipline was still a relatively new one, but it had prospered during and after World War II, contributing to and directing wartime work on a variety of topics including attitudes, morale, rumor, propaganda, prejudice, leadership, and intergroup conflict (Capshew, 1999; Faye, 2007, 2011;

Herman, 1995). Social psychology, which had maintained a rather marginal existence since the early 1900s, therefore grew significantly in the immediate postwar period: from 1948 to 1960, membership in the Social and Personality Psychology division of the American Psychological Association grew by 297%, a number

exceeded only by the growth of the division of School Psychology (Tryon, 1963).

The period immediately following the War has been described by some as the ‘‘golden age’’ of social psychology (House, 2008; Sewell, 1989), characterized by interdisciplinary teams of researchers working on socially relevant issues with substantial federal support (House, 2008).

It was a period when many of the classic and well-known studies were done, including Leon Festinger’s (1957) work on cognitive dissonance, Solomon Asch’s (1951) conformity research, and Stanley Milgram’s (1963) work on obedience to authority.

These classic studies seemed to demonstrate the possibilities of social psychology in uncovering repeatable, robust effects and in addressing significant, real-world phenomena ranging from seemingly irrational cult behavior to the role of obedience in the Holocaust. Furthermore, these years were strikingly productive ones for social psychology, as judged by the sheer number of studies conducted, the growth in methodological approaches, and the amount of data collected (Cartwright, 1979). The field also began to acquire the markings of an established discipline in the postwar period, including the founding of two societies: the Society for Experimental Psychology in 1965 and the Society for Personality and Social Psychology in 1974.

A number of different journals were also established, including the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology and the Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, both founded in 1965. The golden age, however, was rather short-lived. The late 1950s and early 1960s witnessed a noticeable decline in the optimism and self-assuredness of social-psychological writings and internal criticisms began to pepper the literature (Allport, 1954; Asch, 1952; Sears, 1951).

Furthermore, the post-war pronouncements of the vast promise and potential of social psychology are noticeably absent during this period (Collier et al., 1991). In 1948, social psychologist Dorwin Cartwright had noted that the war had brought the field to maturity and a year later, he spoke of the ‘‘growing prestige of social psychology’’ (Cartwright, 1949, p. 199). By 1979, however, he noted a distinct change:

‘‘the general level of excitement that characterized social psychology immediately after the war has all but disappeared’’ (Cartwright, 1979, p. 87). Otto Klineberg similarly noted that the self-confidence of the postwar period ‘‘has yielded in recent years to growing doubts and the search for new directions’’ (Klineberg, 1976, p. 156).

Indeed by the 1960s and 1970s, social psychology appeared in the literature as a field that had once had excellent prospects for a bright and productive future but had somehow failed to live up to these early expectations.

Problems of method

The 1970s crisis was a multifaceted one, involving several interrelated and contentious issues. Not everyone felt a crisis was at hand, and those that did could not agree on the central problems of the field or the causes of those problems. Nonetheless, the first and perhaps most visible concern leading up to a declaration of crisis was a dissatisfaction with the dominance of laboratory experimentation.

Psychologists, modeling their approach on that of the natural sciences and particularly German physiology and psychology, had adopted experimentation in the late nineteenth century and by the start of the twentieth century, more than 40 psychological laboratories had been established (Benjamin, 2000; Danziger, 1990). Social psychology soon followed suit and experimentation

gained prominence in the 1920s and ‘30s, when social psychology had begun moving towards disciplinary status as a subfield of general psychology (Danziger, 2002). In 1937,

psychologist Stuart Henderson Britt aptly summed up the approach that would come to dominate social psychology throughout the twentieth century: Social psychology of the ‘‘present’’ can be typified by one word: empirical. The empirical method may be characterized by three important techniques: the experimental method; the use of first-hand observation; and the employment of statistics (Britt, 1937, p. 464). Britt went on to note that the empirical method, and particularly experimentation, was the primary method of distinguishing social psychology from social philosophy.

With increased sophistication in statistical techniques, the adoption of operationism, and the incorporation of the language of variables (Danziger, 1997), experimentation gained an even stronger foothold and by the 1960s, it had become the distinguishing mark of a scientific social psychology. In 1949, approximately 30 percent of studies in the leading social psychology journal involved some form of experimental manipulation; by 1969, this number had risen to 87 percent (Higbee & Wells, 1972). In the early 1960s, however, the experimental method came under considerable scrutiny in the social-psychological literature.

Several scholars began publishing results that questioned the validity of such experiments (Orne, 1962; Rosenthal, 1966; Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1969). These authors demonstrated that experimental results may be strongly influenced by the artificial mechanics of the experiment.

Martin Orne, for example, argued that research subjects are not passive receivers of experimental stimuli; instead, they actively interpret and give meaning to the experimental situation, seek out cues regarding researchers’ hypothesis, and frequently attempt to act as ‘‘good subjects,’’ trying to help confirm hypotheses.

The experimental situation, Orne (1959, 1962) argued, contains cues or ‘‘demand characteristics’’ that participants use to try to ascertain the purpose, meaning, or goal of the situations in which they find themselves. These cues become strong stimuli for participant behavior.

In this way, the experiment becomes a social problem-solving situation for participants and resulting behaviors may be due in large part to demand characteristics rather than to the variables that are of direct interest to the researcher.

Problems of relevance

Related to discussions of method was the debate regarding the social relevance of social-psychological findings. In a 1974 survey of graduate students and faculty members in psychology, half of the respondents indicated that psychology’s lack of relevance to real-world social problems was one of its gravest difficulties (Lipsey, 1974).

In this same vein, the first public diagnosis of a disciplinary crisis came in an article titled ‘‘Crisis in social psychology: The relevance of relevance’’ (Silverman, 1971). In this article, Irwin Silverman noted that despite serious external pressures to produce results relevant to pressing social problems, ‘‘social psychologists have not provided much data that are relevant to social ills’’ (p. 583). Silverman went on to argue that the problem of relevance was in fact a direct result of problems of method: data from social psychology gathered in artificial laboratory experiments ‘‘may relate very much to the motives and feelings and thoughts of subjects about their role in the experiment and very little to their lives outside of it’’ (p. 584).

Others concurred with this assessment, noting that the experimental situation was a highly artificial one, involving groups of strangers rather than individuals embedded in social situations and social

relationships. Because of this, social psychology did not reflect reality and therefore had little to say about real-world phenomena (Gergen, 1973).

Other aspects of experimentation, including the use of college students as participants, were also pinpointed as the reason behind social psychology's lack of relevance in the world outside the laboratory (Weber & Cook, 1972). Even classic studies in the field that seemed to be highly socially relevant were not immune to such critiques. In fact, they became exemplars of the irrelevance of the field.

This was the case with Milgram's obedience research. In what is perhaps the most wellknown set of studies in the history of psychology, Stanley Milgram (1963) demonstrated that research participants will administer increasingly strong and potentially harmful electrical shocks to another individual when ordered to do so by an authority figure.

Milgram and others interpreted his robust and dramatic results as shedding significant light on the Holocaust by showing how ordinary individuals come to commit seemingly unthinkable and cruel acts (Milgram, 1964). Milgram's work, however, became the target of much criticism.

A significant portion of this criticism focused on how relevant the findings really were to understanding something as complicated as the actions of perpetrators in the Holocaust. Some suggested that the participants' obedience towards the experimenter resulted from the trust they placed in science and the academy.

Problems of theory and approach

As the crisis wore on, many authors began to argue that problems of method and relevance were simply symptoms of a set of much larger and far more substantive issues, including the theoretical approach of the field, the disciplinary orientation, and, according to

some, the inadequacy of the entire philosophy on which social psychology had been founded.

Some discussions of theoretical orientation were focused on the simplicity of social-psychological theory. It was believed that social psychology had become too consumed with theories built on small, repeatable effects, resulting in theories with a very limited scope. This focus had resulted in a lack of integrative theories that could unite social-psychological findings and capture the complexity of social individuals in complex social systems (Back, 1963; McGuire, 1969, 1976; Pepitone, 1976).

Social psychologists were therefore left with what one author described as ‘‘miniature theories’’ (Back, 1963) and ‘‘simple a-affects-b’’ hypotheses (McGuire, 1976). The most prominent theories—cognitive dissonance theory, the risky shift paradigm, and social learning theory—were considered by many to be isolated from one another, exploring small corners of social cognition, emotion, and behavior without any linkage to other theories or experimental findings. Others argued that the field’s theoretical problems stemmed from the individualistic and reductionist approach of social psychologists.

It was held that social-psychological studies and theories—focused on individual motivation, interpersonal processes, and social cognition—had failed to account for the role of macrosocial phenomena such as social structure, class, political systems, and culture (Back, 1963; Backman, 1980; Pepitone, 1976; Sherif, 1977; Smith, 1978). Pepitone (1976),

for example, identified the cause of the crisis as a ‘‘misplaced theoretical unit of analysis’’ (p. 641). He argued that social psychologists automatically attribute research findings to individual motivation and psychological processes without considering the normative social world on a larger scale as a possible determinant of individual behavior.

As an example, Pepitone referred to the often observed phenomenon where the perceived payoff of a goal increases as the suffering required to obtain it also increases. Dissonance theorists would attribute the finding to an individual's desire to decrease discomfort caused by sustaining two inconsistent cognitions. Pepitone argued that the finding may just as well be the result of shared cultural norms revealed by adages such as ''no pain, no gain''.

The debate regarding the relative roles of macro- and microsocial phenomena in social psychology was also reflected in ongoing discussions about the relationship, or lack thereof, between psychological and sociological forms of social psychology (Archibald, 1976; Boutilier, Roed, & Svendsen, 1980; House, 1977; Moscovici, 1972; Stryker, 1977). By 1960, social psychology was primarily a subdiscipline of general psychology; that is, it was practiced primarily by psychologists, in psychology departments, following the principles and methods of general psychology (Collier et al., 1991).

Its focus was, for the most part, on individual cognition, emotion, and behavior in relation to various social stimuli, such as the presence of another individual, the judgments of group members, or the presentation of a persuasive message (Farr, 1996; Greenwood, 2004).

Despite the dominance of such psychological forms of social psychology, sociologists had also maintained traditions of social psychology within their own discipline. Sociological variants of social psychology frequently used non-experimental, observational studies to examine face-to-face interactions between individuals, as was the case for symbolic interactionists who examined the meaning created in these interactions (House, 1977).

Sociological social psychologists also employed survey methods to examine the relationships between psychological processes and

attributes, such as personality or self-image, and macrosocial phenomena, such as social class and race (House, 1977).

Diagnosing disciplinary crisis

The 1970s crisis in American social psychology provides an interesting case study of a discipline in the midst of a self-diagnosed crisis and raises interesting questions regarding how and why such crises are diagnosed. During and after the crisis, some scholars suggested that the issues raised in the context of the crisis were not new issues at all:

They noted that the controversies of the crisis were in fact the same philosophical problems that had plagued the social sciences since their inception, including issues of determinism, mechanistic causality, individualism versus holism, and nomothetic versus idiographic approaches (Rosnow, 1983; Shaw, 1974). This evaluation is supported by Fay Berger Karpf's (1932) monograph reviewing the field. Karpf noted that two of the central problems in the newly developing field were controversies over how psychologically or sociologically-oriented the field should be and what methods would be most appropriate for the field (Karpf, 1932). Similarly, as early in 1933, Saul Rosenzweig had outlined the social-psychological aspects of the subject-experimenter relationship and noted that it was already ''a well-known fact that experimentation in human psychology presents serious difficulties'' (Rosenzweig, 1933, p. 337).

Contemporary scholarship on the history of social psychology likewise demonstrates that many of the same issues that were debated during the crisis had been contentious ones throughout the discipline's history.

The Progress of the Indigenization of Psychology in India in 1980s:

A Review Sinha 0994) claimed that "indigenization is a global phenomenon" (p.180), i.e., it is a necessity in all countries and across all disciplines. In India, there have been repeated, aperiodic calls for indigenization of psychology following the initial call of Durganand Sinha 0973) to make psychology relevant to the Indian context and to serve the needs of the Indian people. In the past decade much has been written about the state of, type of, extent of, sources of indigenization of psychology in India, and of the positive and negative factors influencing its progress. The writings of Adair, Puhan, and Vohra 0993), Dalal 0996), D. Sinha 0994), andJ.B.P. Sinha (2000) among others have each concluded that indigenization in India is slowly but steadily progressing.

Taking their reality into account, Indian psychologists have imported the concept and suited it to serve the purpose of indigenization process. J. B. P. Sinha (2000) has argued that given the pluralistic nature of the Indian society and its people, the openness to diversity among Indians, and the relative comfort with dissonance of an Indian scholar, no single route is best for the growth of psychology in India; rather a number of approaches to making psychology relevant will not only help but also ensure the survival of the indigenization movement.

Three routes have been identified as possibilities for Indian psychology to travel to make research in psychology more relevant. The first and commonly accepted route is the use of Indian traditional knowledge, categories, and d1eories to exp la in basic psychological phenomena such as motivation and personality. However, indigenization in India has not been limited to the development of a cultural psychology or of unique principles heavily based on language, as has been the case in the Philippines, Taiwan, and Mexico. Ethnic or cultural psychology has been recognized as a source for an indigenous psychology in India, but it is only treated as one of several routes that indigenization may take and is the least popular route.

A prime reason for India not following the culture-based route to indigenization is the difficulty in defining or agreeing upon what would be appropriately culturally derived in India. The difficulty arises from the size, diversity, and complexity of the populace in India. There are large differences in the languages spoken, religions practiced, caste, and tribal affiliations of people. There are six religions that are actively practiced in India, of which there are two dominant religions (according to the 1991 Census 82.41 percent are Hindus and 11.67 percent are Muslims), and eighteen languages are officially recognized, each with a distinct script and litera1ture. In the 1991 Census the number of people who spoke any one language ranged from 39.85 (Hindi) to .01 (Sanskrit). Approximately 10 percent of the Indian population is tribal. Most of these groups live in remote parts of the country and many of their ways of organizing their world are primitive.

Thus it is difficult to agree on the topics that would be classed as topics of national importance or be culturally appropriate. Would psychologies based on ancient Hindu texts Cit would not apply to more than 15 percent of the population) be more culturally appropriate than those based on Muslim texts (it would apply to a smaller but a significant percentage)? Which Hindu text would classify as national and ctiltural is another dilemma, given that Hinduism itself has more than eighteen ancient books of philosophy and teachings and there is no widespread agreement on which one of them is the key text. Also,

if psychologies based on Muslim texts were indigenous would they be different from the psychologies of Islamic nations such as Sultanate of Oman or Iraq. The diversity indicates that rather than having one national/indigenous psychology it is more appropriate to envisage that there would be multiple indigenous psychologies. Thus the route of cultural psychology as practiced in Mexico or Philippines cannot be the only route for indigenization in psychology and it is often the least popular route in India.

This is also because majority of the urban psychologists and psychology students do not identify with the "cultural" ways and means (Dalal, 1996).

The Present Study

This chapter repo1ts on the extent of cultural/socially-relevant research by each route based on the abstracts published in the Indian Psychological Abstracts and Reviews from 1998 to 2002 (Volume 1).

Each year two issues of this journal were published thus nine issues were included in this study. The journal divides the published abstracts into specializations: Cognitive, Personality, Cross-Cultural and Indigenous Psychology, Life Span and Developmental Psychology, Women and Family Studies, Educational Psychology, Organization Behavior and Industrial Psychology, Social psychology, Clinical Psychology, Research Methods and Psychometrics, Experimental Psychology, Physiological Psychology, and General Psychology.

The abstracts for experimental and physiological psychology and research methods and psychometrics were not included in this study. For each of the other sections abstracts were rated by the author on whether the article was theoretical or empirical, and if empirical, whether it fell under any of the three categories of socially/culturally relevant research:

(a) Research that was cultural in nature, being based on indigenous conceptualization or theory. This included, for example, the work on the role of outcome orientation vs. process orientation on motivation and stress derived from the Bhagwad Gita, an ancient Hindu text; the giving theo1y of motivation derived from the ancient Vedas, and the role of practicing yoga and meditation in developing the self and its relation to the workplace.

(b) Socially relevant research that was undertaken on countty-specific topics such as crowding or population explosion, epidemiological surveys of, for example, the incidence of violence towards women in a certain region, or substance abuse among college students. This category also included research on HIV/AIDS and on caste, and

(c) Western concepts and theories that were tested and their findings were compared to those obtained in Indian settings. For example, the work on learned helplessness, its application, or validity tested within Indian samples, the use of Somatic Inkblot Series for diagnosing schizophrenia or other mental illnesses presented by Indian patients; Piagetian conservation among Indian children; or studies on procedural and distributive justice.

Quantitative Ratings of b1dig enous Research Developments

A total of 2,531 articles were included in this study of which 636 were theoretical, with the rest (n-1895) or 75.6 percent of the total articles being empirical. The largest proportions of empirical articles were in the clinical psychology section (21.3 percent) followed by social psychology 05.6 percent) and organizational behavior and industt"ial psychology (15.1 percent).

Table 1 presents the number and percentage of empirical articles that were rated as being socially or culturally relevant under each route. Overall, approximately one quarter of the articles in the last five years were rated as being culturally/socially relevant using one of the three routes. :rhere were also variations in the extent to which a panicular route was used. The largest volume of research was in the category of socially relevant topics.

The largest percentage of abstracts was in the study of socially relevant topics (the second route) in the section on women and family studies (50%) followed by those in the section on social psychology (35%). In sections of clinical, women and family studies

and cognitive psychology there were no studies that could be classified as based on the cultural or ethnic route. The largest percentage of studies using the third route, that is testing western concepts in Indian settings, were in the section on industrial and organizational psychology.

For example, there are studies that use western scales to measure commitment among different groups of employees (for example, working in private and public sector c01porations) or that measure stress of various occupational groups, or the correlates of the Big 5 personality traits with job satisfaction among school teachers.

Conclusions

From the above observations and data generated by examining the research trends in published research in India, it is possible to conclude that there is a visible trend toward making the practice and research of psychology more relevant to the Indian context. In fact, as pointed out by J. 13. P. Sinha 0993), though the bulk of psychology research in India continues to be replicative a small but significant portion of it is relevant to the Indian context. This study finds that the small portion is now grown to a quatter of the total research produced.

The foregoing has provided few examples of the range of indigenous developments within Indian psychology. The review is not exhaustive because of space limitations. However, it would not be wrong to say that India has responded more uniquely to the definition of indigenization (D. Sinha, 1996).

Durganand Sinha 0973) championed the goal of an Indian psychology that would be relevant to Indian society. His concern was that psychologists were more focused on the psychology of the west rather than being as attentive as they should have been to the context and issues within their own society. It may not have occurred in his lifetime, but there is evidence in the recent research

pursued by [ndian psychologists that a strong recognition and incorporation of the Indian context has developed in their selection of topics and research activities.

1990s: Paradigmatic concerns

Mind and consciousness are the most fascinating and wonderful phenomena in the universe. It has fascinated man throughout history. Questions about mind, self and consciousness have been raised not only by psychologists and philosophers but also by thinkers from diverse fields e.g. Physics, Biology, and Neuroscience. Their work within their own disciplines inevitably brought the urgency to look into the place of mind and consciousness in the entire scheme of creation. Several writings by great thinkers like Shroedinger, Sherrington, Penfield, J Eccles, Kothari, etc. eloquently testify it.

Questions about mind, self and consciousness were at the heart of Indian psychology which we find shrouded in the religio-philosophical traditions of India dating back to more than two thousand years. However it remained largely unrecognized and unappreciated in mainstream psychology both in India and other parts of the world. There is only an occasional reference to Indian psychology. According to Hall & Lindzey “One of the richest sources of well formulated psychologies are Eastern religions... Most major Asian religions have at their core a psychology little known to the masses of adherents to the faith, but quite familiar to the appropriate professionals, be they yogis, monks or priests”

Why these rich and profound knowledge systems about the inner world have largely remained unrecognized by mainstream psychology? Why there is a resistance in psychologists both in India and foreign lands to even acquaint themselves with Indian psychology to examine its value. Both these questions need to be examined if psychology is to really evolve and get enriched by the insights of Indian Psychology.

There are three reasons for Indian Psychology remaining unknown to mainstream Psychology:

1. Insights about the inner world were a part of the religio-philosophical traditions of India which have profound knowledge systems as their foundation. However, the foundational knowledge systems were very complex and due to the metaphysical or spiritual nature of its subject matter it was inaccessible to masses unless they had the necessary inclinations for it. Moreover, it required deeply questioning mind, introspective nature and existential orientation. Traditionally it was imparted by the teacher to only those who were prepared enough to fathom its depths. Thus, the knowledge systems remained confined to limited number of scholars and sages. However, it is important to note that the vision which emanated from it had widely influenced the Indian culture. One is in awe of the mighty foresights and understanding of the sages and seers of this country who found ingenious methods to communicate such a profound knowledge and wisdom to common man. Indian culture, its festivals, folk traditions, mythology, art, music, religious practices, rites and rituals of the community are testimony to it.

2. Psychology adopted the paradigm of physical sciences including its methods. The antithesis between science and religion, as witnessed by last two centuries, have made the followers of science including psychologists sceptical of religio-philosophical systems of knowledge. Though hard core science like Physics has revolutionized its world view but other disciplines including psychology has remained unaffected by such changes. The thinkers in the field of Psychology have been feeling a sense of dissatisfaction at its limited view of man and it is being increasingly realized that its paradigm is of limited value to its subject matter and its ultimate goals. It has

not yet found revolutionary ideas and insights as in Physics to break the limits of its horizon.

3. The writings of Indian Psychology are largely inaccessible in a format familiar to psychologists. It is shrouded in religio-philosophical traditions of India which is ignored by modern day scholars who are seeped into scientism. It is considered by large majority of us as unscientific and religious orthodoxy and therefore no effort is made to acquaint oneself and examine the rich literature that exists in these traditions.

The problems of scientism in Psychology

Following the model of scientific method, Psychology presumed that it can identify all the factors/causes that influence man's mind and behaviour. Vast number of empirical studies have been done investigating every possible factor that may influence and shape personality and behaviour. However, it has often confirmed at best the common sense knowledge which did not sharpen the skills for prediction and control — the ultimate goal of science. It has not given us tools to bring desirable changes in one-self. Though insights emerging from Clinical Psychology have made valuable contribution in understanding the inner workings of mind and personality at conscious, sub-conscious and unconscious levels but it has failed to guide and even define what could be the possibilities of human perfection.

Looking at the contributions of mainstream Psychology one can broadly put it in two categories: (a) mind as an instrument of cognition (b) understanding the forces that shape our personality and behaviour. It has quite ingeniously applied experimental method to study the cognitive functions of the mind and gathered important insights about the cognitive processes of the mind. However the experimental method was found to be inappropriate for the latter category of issues. The whole approach of using objective methods and studying others to collect relevant data has at best approximated common sense wisdom. It is these issues where

mainstream Psychology can immensely benefit from the Indian Psychology. However, the challenge before us is to present the insights of Indian psychology in a form that can be understood by the people working in the field of psychology. It is by no means an easy task and needs open dialogue that is free from all other compulsions.

Indian Psychology

Mainstream Psychology has its origin in the western cultures. It is interesting to note that thinkers of the west made great strides in knowing and understanding the mysteries of the outer world whereas the thinkers in India pursued with great passion the inquiry into the mysteries of the inner world.

Insights about the inner workings of mind forms a central core of Indian psychology. It has the potential of revolutionizing our understanding of man in the same way as Modern Physics did to our understanding of the universe.

The questions around which Indian Psychology is woven, may be broadly formulated as follows:

- What is the nature of I/self? What is its relation to the entire creation, i.e. Universe?
- What is birth and death of “me”? How “I” begin and end?
- How can one free oneself from the vicissitudes of life and its sufferings called ‘samsara’
- How to choose amongst multiple options that life presents to each one of us. In Bhagvad-Gita the dialogue between Arjuna and Krishna starts with this issue;
- How to live at peace with oneself, others and the larger world including insentient and sentient beings?

In brief we can sum up the above questions as “what is the nature of “I”/self (called Atman) viz a viz the nature of phenomenal world” and “how do we maximize ours as well as others well being.”

Such questions in Indian psychology led to deep analysis of mind, problems of identity and complexities of human life. The deliberation on these issues resulted into insights and vision which encompassed not only man and his life but the whole creation. This was a holistic picture which saw connectivities operating in the entire creation/nature. It had the potential of transforming man's life in a manner which is the ideal of every human being, variously termed as "sthitpragya" or "Samatvayoga"(unshakeable mental equilibrium).

Inquiry into the nature of "I" or "Self" resulted into two different streams of thought in Western & Indian cultures. Western psychology has viewed self as a unifying force within, which is all the time dynamically absorbing the experiences and at the same time determining the behaviour and quality of experience. It is constantly getting shaped and reshaped by the interactive forces of biochemistry, environment and its own unique way of perceiving itself and its circumstances. Different personality theories represent various perspectives to explain the shaping of self or personality. With the exception of Sir C.G. Jung, these theories have not clearly differentiated between self and personality.

Insights into the nature of self in Indian psychology revealed the witnessing nature of "I" called Atman. Upanishads say that Atman or Brhaman alone is the fundamental reality whose nature is pure awareness. This is the substratum of the whole creation including mind. Mind is called Antahkaran, i.e. instrument of knowledge of inner world. It consists of four-fold constituents:

- Manas: Perceptions, feelings, desires, thoughts
- Buddhi: intellect which is the faculty of discrimination and choice.
- Chitt: Memory
- Ahankar: Ego, Sense of individuality or Dehatma-buddhi

Manas is by nature extremely unsteady. It can be disciplined by intellect whose capacity of choice and discrimination can be enhanced by introspection, knowledge and education. Ahankar (ego) or Dehatma-buddhi is a case of misplaced identity which is the root cause of ignorance about the real nature of Self leading to sufferings in life. The relationship amongst self, mind, intellect and ego is beautifully brought out in the following sloka of Kathopanishad:

Atmanam rathinam vidhi shariram rathmev tu

Buddhi tu sarathim vidhi manah pragrhamev cha!

Know the Self/soul as the rider, the body as the chariot, the intellect as the charioteer, and the mind as the reins; the organs are the horses and the sense objects the roads; the soul with the body, organs and mind is designated by the sages as the relisher of experience.

How do we comprehend the nature of Self which appears to be highly abstract to common sense view of ourselves that identifies self with body and mind. Upanishads carry a very comprehensive analysis to reveal the nature of Self:

- subject-object analysis: common notions of self are critically examined to show the problems in our thinking and conclusions,
- analysis of waking, dream & sleep: the analysis of three states of man's being is done to show that our notions about self are based on partial view of our states of being i.e 'waking state' while completely neglecting dream and sleep states.

Subject-Object Analysis.

"I" or "Self" is intimately experienced as the subject or knower of everything external as well as internal world. All modifications of mind e.g. perceptions, thoughts and emotions are only objects of

knowledge and not the subject. In the words of Sri Radhakrishnan "the body, the sense organs, the mind and the ego all lay claim to being the self of man. Before enquiry man takes one or other of them as self. But philosophical enquiry reveals their non-self character, it reveals each one of them as an object and not a subject."

Who is the subject then? To know the subject / knower means to objectify it and necessitating yet another knower leading to regress ad infinitum. Yet all forms of knowledge necessitate the existence of knower. Upanishads call this subject / knower as "Atman" whose nature is pure consciousness.

After showing the dissimilarity between knower (self) and known (mind) it analyzes the relationship between the two. The knower and the known are the two apparent aspects of one basic reality. Known is not independent of knower because its existence depends on the knower. Just as pot's existence is not independent of the clay; pot is only name and form of the same basic substance, i.e. clay. Similarly known is not an independent reality, known and knower are one only. Thus the whole world, inner and outer, is resolved in one alone; Upanishads call it "atman", the resolving point of knower and known whose nature is pure consciousness. Atman = Brhaman is the most profound statement of the Upanishads indicated by the following Mahavakyas:

- aham brhamasmi (I am brhaman)
- tat tvamasi (that thou art)
- ayam atma brhama (this atman is brhaman)
- sarvam idam khalu brhaman (all this is brhaman)

What is the nature of atman? What is brhaman? What kind of equation the above statements are talking about? To understand the meaning of atman and brhaman one needs to know their etymological roots:

- Atman — that which pervades everything
- Brhaman — derived from the root “brh” meaning “to grow” or “to increase”; when noun is formed from “brh”it means bigness, unconditioned by any form, space or time.

These statements may look utterly confusing to one who is not familiar with Indian Psychology, Comprehension of these Mahavakya require formidable shifts in one’s thinking and conclusions that man makes universally about himself and the world, namely

- I am the body and the mind (Dehatma Buddhi)
- The unquestionable reality of the physical world

It is the burden of these conclusions which is the biggest barrier in comprehending the vision of Indian Psychology. The paradox of man is that he can deny his own self through a wrong self-image. Thus Atman which appears to be conditioned by body and mind (known by us as “I”) is in fact limitless. Just as space confined by room is same as space all over, similarly Atman which appears to be confined (identified) by body and mind is in fact without any confines, therefore, called Brhaman. It is in this sense that Atman is called the real self which is Brhaman. Its nature is defined as “Sat” (truth), “Chit” (consciousness), Anandam (ever blissful).

- Sat — Truth or reality. Truth is defined as that which can not be negated.
- Chit — Consciousness. It is not contingent quality which rises or sinks with the presence or absence of objects. It is “svataha siddham” i.e. it is self-evident; no other proof is required to prove its existence. Just as one light does not require another light to prove its existence. This self-revealing consciousness is not an adventitious quality of the self, it is the very being of the self, i.e. self is identical with consciousness. Its very nature is knowledge ‘Pragya’.

- Anandam — bliss, devoid of any impurities, inadequacies, ever fullness.

Thus reality is one alone, it is non-dual. It pervades every thing sentient or insentient. Isopanisad eloquently said: “Ishawasyamidam sarvam yatkinchjagatyam jagat” (everything is pervaded by brhaman alone).

Analysis of knower and known has already revealed the error of locating “I/self in body and mind as both belong to the realm of “known” (objects of knowledge) and not the “knower”. It was also seen that knower can not become the object of knowledge as in itself it is a self-contradiction. Finally the logical necessity of tracing the known to knower resulted into the two being one alone, i.e. Atman or Brhaman, whose nature is pure consciousness. There can not be anything away or beyond consciousness, not knowing is also within knowledge. Every phenomena of the world including space and time is within consciousness, in that sense Atman is neither born nor dies.

How do we reconcile this vision with the phenomenal experience of everyday world. We need to remember that Truth can be altogether different from the appearances. In fact if we examine carefully we would find that knowledge always contradicts commonsense notions. Just as the earth appears stationary and sun seems to travel from east to west, which is only an apparent reality (called “Vyavaharik Satya”). Its falsity is revealed by the knowledge that it is earth which is rotating on its axis, causing the shifts in the position of the sun. This is called Paramarthic Satya or absolute reality. Thus in the light of Paramarthic Satya, the falsity of appearance (Vyavaharik satya) is revealed.

Analysis of three states — Waking, Dream and Sleep

Mandukya Upanishad analyzes the three states- waking, dream and sleep and shows the necessity of a common substratum which

gives continuity to “I” experience. We spend our whole life alternating amongst these three states yet when it comes to defining our identity, we exclusively take into account waking state alone. The conclusion that “I am body and mind” is essentially arising during the waking state. When we examine dream and sleep states this identity gets questioned. Logically there should not be any experience or knowledge without experiencer or knower; then who is this knower without body- mind identity (“I” sense of waking state). Similarly in sleep, there is no experience of anything yet experience of “sound” sleep is there. We carry on the feeling of having good sleep when we wake-up, in other words the memory of sound sleep persists upon waking up. Logically there can not be memory without experience and an experience without the experiencer is not possible.

Thus the above analysis reveals that the waking identity is only one type of identity and its firmness and persistence gets challenged when the very nature and process of experiencing in dream and sleep states is examined. It puts forth the need to re-examine our firm conclusion about the self only on the basis of waking identity (identity with body and mind) and needs deliberation on the principle which is more inclusive and fundamental. Upanishads call it Atman whose nature is pure awareness. Thus awareness / consciousness whose nature is “self-luminosity” or “knowing” persists through three states of waking, dream and sleep. It is upholder (adhishthanam) of the entire universe of names and forms including space and time.

Shankaracharya, one of the greatest thinkers of the world, said:

“There is some entity, eternal by nature, the basis of the experience of egoism, the witness of the three states of waking dream and sleep and distinct from the five sheaths, who knows everything that happens in the waking, dream and sleep states, who is aware of the presence or absence of the mind and its functions, and who is the basis of the notion of egoism.”

In the words of **Jodson Herrick**— Awareness itself has no locus, because the conscious act has properties that are not definable in terms of the spatial and temporal units which are employed in the measurement of the objects and events of our objective world."

Great thinkers from diverse disciplines reached the similar vision of truth despite very dissimilar fields of their endeavour. **George Wald,** a noted biologist and noble laureate said "Just the contrary of consciousness first appearing as a late outgrowth of the evolution of life on this and other planets, I come to the view that this universe breeds life and consciousness, because consciousness is its source and because the stuff of this universe is ultimately mind-stuff. What we recognize as the material universe, the universe of space and time and elementary particles and energies, is actually an avtar, the materialization of primal consiousness. In that case there is no waiting for consiousness to arise. It is there always, at the beginning as at the end. What we wait for in the evolution of life is only the culminating avtar, the emergence of self-conscious bodies that can articulate consicousness, that can give it a voice, a culture, literature and art, and Science."

Professor Kothari pointed out the similarity between visions of reality obtained by Quantum Mechanics and Upanishads:- "The Concept of oneness in Quantum Mechanics is a totally, fundamentally, new concept. We have a most remarkable thought provoking analogy drawn from modern physics for the great Upanisadic formula; the differnet individual selves on the empirical plane are one and the same on the transcendental plane".

In his Nobel address **Delbruck (1969)** said: "Even if we learn to speak about consciousness as an emergent property of nerve sets, even if we learn to understand the processes that lead to abstract ion, reasoning and language, still any such development presupposes a notion of truth that is prior to all these efforts and that can not be conceived as an emergent porperty of it, an emergent property of a biological evolution."

We find a strikingly similar conclusion by **Schroedinger**, great physicist of 20th century, in the epilogue "Determinism and Free Will". He said "two incontrovertible facts are (a) My body is a machine(b) Its motions are under my control. The only possible inference from these two facts is, I think that I , I in the widest meaning of the word, that is to say, every conscious mind that has ever said or felt "I", am the person, if any, who controls the "motions of the atoms" according to the laws of nature.... In itself the insight is not new. Earliest records to my knowledge date back some 2,500 years or more. From the early great upanisads the recognition Atman = Brahman(The personal self, equal the omnipersent, all comprehending eternal self) was in Indian thought considered, far from being blasphemus, to represent the quintessence of deepest insight into the happenings of the world."

Insights of clinical and personality psychology show us vividly the role that self-image plays in our day to day life. We not only act as unified self but we also hold certain image about it. The entire dynamics of inner life revolves around the positive or negative experiences with regard to the self-image. Self reflection or objectivity entails distancing from our own selves and trying to have a re-vision of it. It is like enhancing the witnessing character of our selves. Thus comprehending the non-self character of our identities makes it easy to deal with our reactions. Not only this, it also shows us egocentricity in our thinking and actions. Thus in a limited way the development of this self distancing or objectivity itself resolves several problems. Bhagvad Gita analyzes in great length the inner dynamics which plays havoc in our lives and create problems and sufferings. It details the effectiveness of Karmyoga and Gyanyoga as sure ways of emancipating ourselves from the vicissitudes of inner life. More of it would be discussed later.

The above discussion can be summarized as follows:

- The notion of self in Western Psychology is a case of misplaced identity,

- Locating and identifying the self is problematic, if only waking state is taken into account,
- This change in vision requires thorough de-conditioning of mind also called “Antahkaran-suddhi”. The process of Inner purification requires an introspective analysis of our thinking, feeling and reactions. This gradually shows us how our own thinking and ways of dealing with life situations are often instrumental in creating more problems and sufferings for ourselves.

Western & Indian Psychology

How the above discussion is relevant to Psychology. For comprehending its relevance we need to take a re-look at the goal of psychology. The ultimate goal of psychology is to reveal the mysteries of the inner world. Therein lies the hope of solving man’s problems and maximizing his effectiveness. Indian and Western psychology do not differ in terms of the goals. However the difference lies in the approach and the paradigm within which they operate.

The developments in Physics showed that the order of nature is different in large and small objects. At macro level the nature works within a deterministic design with laws that can help in precise prediction and control. However, at micro-level the whole order of nature’s working undergoes change. “Contrary to Newtonian Physics, Quantum mechanics tells us that our knowledge of what governs the events at sub-atomic level is not nearly what we assumed it would be. It tells us that we can not predict sub-atomic phenomena with any certainty. We only can predict their probabilities” Gary Zukav (1979).

According to modern physics, Nature at micro-level defies precision in prediction and control, the hallmark of classical Physics. Not only this, it questions the independence of observer and observed as the very nature of observed gets altered by the act of observation.

"Philosophically, however, the implications of Quantum mechanics are psychedelic. Not only do we influence our reality, but, in some degree, we actually create it" Gary Zukav (1979). It shows striking similarity with the phenomena of the inner world.

Mind and phenomena of inner world obviously belongs to the micro world subtler than atoms and its constituent electrons and protons etc. Taking the lead from Modern Physics, mind can not be understood through exploration of deterministic laws and therefore it needs a paradigm shift within which it is currently operating.

Search for truth cannot set limits to itself; it has to exhaust all possible ways of explorations. It requires unbiased examination of facts as they are and constant reformulations of our worldview till our questions and doubts are answered to our satisfaction.

The dissatisfactions from the state of contemporary psychology are mounting and efforts towards the search for "meaningful psychology" are increasing appreciably. Bruner (1990) says: "the wider intellectual community comes increasingly to ignore our journals, which seems to outsiders principally to contain intellectually unsituated little studies, each a response to a handful of like little studies. Inside psychology, there is a worried restlessness about the state of our discipline, and the beginnings of a new search for means of reformulating it."

There is a long road between notions of man in Western and Indian Psychology. Scientism in mainstream Psychology has piled up a heavy, layered and deeply entrenched views about man and his/her inner world. Opening of new horizons is an arduous task This is a ripe state for taking a new plunge. Indian psychology promises to offer further breakthrough in understanding man's inner world.

Comprehending Indian psychology is not easy. It is not like noticing a fact, but far more like achieving a great possibility through a strenuous effort. Mere knowing is not sufficient to grasp the view of

Indian psychology. The long journey of inner purification is important to comprehend its deliberations. Inner purification demands freedom from conditioned ways of thinking. It requires introspective orientation, critical self examination and willingness for change. Existential questioning becomes pre-requisite condition to even begin this inward journey. A mind that is free from conditionings becomes the master of itself. It slowly attains freedom from all enslaving tendencies. Such a state of mind is called sthitpragya, the highest perfection of man, a man of self-realisation. It is called Moksha. Moksha is the highest goal of life. Knowledge leads to liberation(sa vidya va vimuktaye) is a very profound statement of the Upanisads. Dehatmabudhi, a case of misplaced identity, is the root cause of all notions and complexes which keep creating problems and sufferings for us.

Need for a shift in Paradigm

Paradigm within which mainstream psychology operates is, that, man is a creation in the Universe. Just as everything in nature is governed by the laws of nature similarly our body and mind are also governed by universal laws. Science offers the best methodology to study such laws of Nature, therefore, mind would also reveal its secrets when studied by scientific methods. New paradigm emerging from Indian psychology is that pure consciousness alone is the fundamental reality. The entire universe including body, mind and senses is only a manifestation of this reality and belongs to the same category as the material world. Man's identity does not lie in body and mind but in Ataman. Misplaced identity is the root cause of all our problems and sufferings. There can never be an end to man's search for happiness and meaning till he discovers his own essential nature i.e. pure consciousness qualified as Sat + Chit + Anandam. Pure consciousness is the most fundamental reality and the ultimate truth of all creation, manifest or unmanifest. Different schools of Indian Thought are unanimous in saying that the true nature of man and its identity lies in Consciousness and not in body

and mind, though they have adopted different methods for articulating it.

Mind and body are also creations in nature and follow orderly functions. Analysis of life situations, its impact on oneself and others can give a clue to understand its order of functioning. Indian Psychology stresses self-inspection and self- experimentation to achieve self-mastery and perfection. It exhorts discipline of oneself and not of others Wisdom is acquired by introspection, reflection and experimentation with ones own self in the light of spiritual knowledge (Atmagyan). It has redefined the goal of life from pursuit of happiness to freedom (Moksha) revealing fantastic understanding of the order of the inner world.

As earlier discussed Psychology faces twofold challenges — understanding cognitive processes and maximizing effective living. It is already collaborating with neuroscience to unravel the mystery of human cognition. However it needs to open up to Indian Psychology for broadening its horizons for the latter. Psychology can not be value neutral in this regard as it can not shy away from the fact that human beings are inherently beset with the dilemma of making choices in life and it needs firm ground for doing it.

Disciplinary identity crisis

One of the more familiar ways of reviewing the state of any discipline in academic research is by gauging the quality of literature that circulates in its academic journals and books.

Publications in the ordinary parlance are like academic currencies which decide the fate of academicians by rating their performance. However publication rate may not always be desirable or wisest of procedures to ascertain disciplinary development, but it continues to be the most commonly used yardstick of progress (for details on the previous ICSSR Indian psychology reviews, see Pandey, 2004: 342-370) .

There are then some other mediums of reviewing the state, progress, and chief concerns of a discipline that entail conducting surveys with practitioners and researchers from the concerned discipline, inviting experts or wise-men/women for reflections and critical appraisal.

Besides undertaking process-outcome analysis, meta- analysis of research findings, models or theories based on leading concepts and appraisals of goals set, achieved and other similar mechanics, are commonly employed to map and 'measure' the growth of a discipline.

Reading psychological literature in the popular Indian psychological journals does not make a pleasant or tremendously illuminating reading most of the times. I have identified some reasons behind the uncreative, repetitive appearance of the literature which at times seems to lack sound or engaging methodology and at other instance seem to present findings built on rather flawed arguments and methodology.

Most of the published literature can be classified into two broad categories: *mainstream-validational research* and *oppositional-indigenous research (or reactionary and nativist,* as Crooks (1994:180) defines the second category*)*.

In the first category are researches which attempt to replicate or validate popular Western theories and researches without much emphasis or rigour shown in picking up context-relevant methodology or clear theoretical-ideological considerations which guide their research questions in the first instance. There are instances of numerous inchoate researches found in abundance in Indian psychological journals, in projects and theses supervised in varied departments at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels;

the decay in the quality of research in the country is at once displayed in the rigmarole of regional conferences and the thematics chosen in such forums.

Indian mainstream researches focus on domains of social, cognitive, developmental and experimental psychology (in other words specialities that can cover the entire rubric of psychology otherwise!) where such lacunae (i.e. gaps between theory and methodology) can easily be spotted.

New and Innovative Spaces

More original, socially relevant and astute researches in the country range from critical reflections and serious interrogations in areas of cultural psychology (Misra & Gergen, 1993), indigenous social psychology (Sinha, D. 1986; 1997; Sinha, J., 1984), cultural psychoanalysis (Kakar, 1989, 1995) and the consequent development of social sciences hermeneutic.

What is 2000s: Emergence of Indian psychology in academia. Issues: The colonial encounter; Post colonialism and psychology; Lack of distinct disciplinary identity ?

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2000s: Emergence of Indian psychology in academia

Indian psychology is a twentieth-century phe nomenon, though its roots go back to the Vedic period of the Indian sub-continent in Asia (originally known as Bhaarata), the exact date of which is still under debate. According to current historical reckoning, the Vedic period dates from about 3000 bce , although some Western scholars date it back to 10,000 bce , based on recent excavations in the site of the Indus Valley Civilization.

Though psychology, unlike astronomy, medicine, economics, law and polity, or literature, was not recognized as an independent branch of study in ancient India, there has been no dearth of psychological theorizing scattered in varied sources, including mythology and epics, literary texts, linguistics, texts on dramatics, sexology, medicine, philosophy, religion, and spirituality.

Concepts and models related to almost all aspects of human behavior, such as cognition, affect, and conation, can be found in these sources, especially those human potentials which are yet to find their way into mainstream psychology, such as intuition, paranormal phenomena, altered states of consciousness, and transcendent awareness or pure con sciousness.

These topics are found not only in texts and treatises related to Vedic tradition but also in non-Vedic traditions such as Jainism and Buddhism. Yet no efforts at collecting and systematizing a vast body of psychological knowledge are evident until the beginning of the twentieth century.

The term Indian psychology was purportedly first used by Sri Aurobindo, well-known Yogi and freedom fighter of modern India, in 1910 in one of his writings on education. Perhaps the first published work on this subject is by Jadunath Sinha (1933), titled Indian Psychology: Cognition .

It is a work of extraordinary scope that brings together all the extant views on various cognitive processes, including intuition and extra-

sensory percep tion, available in the three major religious-spiritual traditions of India, namely Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism.

Sinha later published two additional volumes:

Indian Psychology: Emotion and Will (1961) and Indian Psychology: Epistemology of Perception (1969). Together, these three volumes are a veritable gold mine of psychological concepts and perspectives. Other early contributions include those by Caroline Rhys Davids, who published Buddhist Psy chology in 1914 and another volume, The Birth of Indian Psychology and Its Development in Buddhism , in 1936.

Other publications compared modern psychology and Indian psychological thought, including Western Psychotherapy and Hindu Sadhana by Hans Jacobs (1961) and Yoga and Western Psychology: A Comparison , by Geraldine Coster (1934). Subsequently, Indians also authored additional books, most notably among them Hindu Psychology: Its Meaning for the West (1948) and Mental Health and Hindu Psychology (1952) by Swami Akhilananda.

Although these initial attempts stimulated other traditional Indian scholars, their work was repudiated by academic psychologists of modern India who were trained in empirical traditions of mainstream psychology. Thus, early attempts at development of psychological thought of Indian origin fell into disrepute.

Contemporary Developments In the past two decades there has been a renewed interest in examining the vast psycho logical knowledge base available in different Indian traditions. This renewal of interest has been triggered by the influx of yoga and meditation practices to the West, studies of altered state phenomena, and growing recog nition that concepts and theories of modern Western psychology often do not generalize to Asian cultures.

Some contemporary developments which are not completely in the mainstream, but address vital issues concerning human behavior, such as transpersonal psychology, humanistic psychology, positive psychology, energy psychology, women ' s spirituality, and holistic approaches to health, have found Indian psychology valuable because its concepts and theories account for many phenomena in which they are interested.

Thus, Indian psychology transcends the geo graphical boundaries of India in its relevance and usefulness to the understanding of human behavior. Distinctive Features Distinct aspects of Indian intellectual traditions provide perspectives for the term Indian psychology :

1) The traditions of India recognize consciousness, as distinct from psyche and soma, as a transcendental pheno menon serving as the ground state for the manifestation of all the other states, including waking (jaagrat), dream (swapna), and deep sleep (sushupti). This consciousness is termed turiya (in Sanskrit turiya means fourth). It is called fourth because it has no attributes and does not have characteristics of the other three, and yet supports them. All are altered states of mind.

2) Unlike the Cartesian mind–body split, Indian traditions view mind and matter as a continuum.

3) Mind–matter is understood to be the operation of three fundamental principles in the universe: sattva , rajas , and tamas , which represent illumination and creativity, energy, and inertia, respectively.

4) The person in Indian thought is understood to have three levels: the animal, the human, and the divine.

5) The divine aspect of the person present in humans is that pure consciousness which is also the foundation of the whole universe. Contemporary developments in physics, biology, chemistry,

medicine, and psychology are tending toward these ideas and thus vindicate the Indian perspective.

These fundamental views have shaped the Indian ethos and eidos for several thousand years and have provided a framework guiding the lives of millions of Indians. This influence is evident in the fourfold value system enunciated in Indian thought, which recognizes all aspects of human aspi ration from the mundane to the spiritual. These aspects are dharma (right living), artha (wealth), kama (desires), and moksha (liberation).

Each person may aspire to all four; yet as a human being one is expected to aspire to self-realization/liberation, which is the ideal human aspiration. All aspects of human activity are conceptualized and understood within this framework of consciousness, which differs qualitatively from the understanding gained only from a waking-state perspective.

Development of Indian Psychology In the past three decades developments within Indian psychology have progressed both in theoretical and empirical directions. Conceptual clarifications, theory building, develop ment of tools, and application of concepts in the fields of education, health, and organizational behavior are some of the major developments (Cornelissen, Misra, & Varma, 2011a , 2011b ; Misra & Mohanty, 2000 ; Paranjpe, 1984 , 1998 ; Rao, Paranjpe, & Dalal, 2008 ; Salagame, 2011).

Indian psychology is relevant and applicable in all aspects of human endeavor provided one is open enough to understand the underlying worldview. The scope of Indian psychology is from kama sutra to yoga sutra (from sexology to transcendental pursuits) (Salagame, 2011) and no aspect of human life is neglected. A major challenge in the development of Indian psychology has been related to the appropriate methodology to be used. Because many ancient Indian ideas and insights have emerged from transcendental phenomena, Indian psychologists have argued that

third-person methodologies are not appropriate to understand them. Firstperson methodologies are favored.

However, Indian psychology accepts a wide range of methodologies beyond observation, experimentation, and inference. In addition to those mentioned above, Indian psychology also accepts intuition and verbal testimony of an authority as means of valid knowledge. Therefore, some argue that there is a place for first-, second-, and third-person methodologies, depending upon what one is studying.

The future of Indian psychology lies in its contribution to mainstream psychology as a way of enlarging the existing framework, rather than remaining isolated as a fringe movement. The fact that many non-Indians have been involved in the development of Indian psychology suggests that it will eventually attain universal significance.

The colonial encounter

Are islands natural prisons? The answer to this question is encrypted in the history of modern colonial encounters, that is, the European discovery and characterization of tropical islands and their inhabitants, as the colonial history of the Andamans illustrates. The spatial history of the Andamans began much before their colonization as a leaf in the fantastic tales of ancient and medieval travellers. The Andamans entered history through these accounts and ‘transformed into a place, that is, a space with a history’.

The British stepped into the historical trajectory of the Andamans as their empire was shifting away from the Atlantic and starting to focus on the Indian Ocean. With this a new era of ‘modern globalization’, with linkages between the Indian Ocean and the European-Atlantic economy, was emerging. The events as they unfolded in the Andamans were reminiscent of the Columbian encounters in the late fifteenth century, the sixteenth century colonial encounter between Indians and English in the New World,

and the Tupinamba and Europeans in Brazil.1 The violence in each case accompanied misanthropic characterization of the environments and peoples which the colonizers encountered. British surveyors and administrators brought colonial experiences and characterizations from European encounters with the non-European world to the Andamans.

This is amply exemplified in the way disgust with the physical surroundings of the tropical islands was projected on to the natives in the Andamans. Over time, the need for physical violence diminished because an essential aspect of this hegemonic imagination was that it created and sustained spaces to which the aborigines had no physical access. Moral judgements were couched in scientific, albeit racialized, theories of environments and peoples.

As a result of being diachronically encoded into the Andamans' history, the colonial characterization of the Islands and their inhabitants displayed a tenacious staying power. This is reflected in the images that have come down to us today of the Andamanese as cannibals. The establishment of the penal settlement was instrumental in lending permanence to the image of kalapani, the land of darkness and death, and its nationalist alter ego, muktitirth. At the heart of both metaphors, kalapani and muktitirth, sustained and nourished by colonialism and nationalism, was the imagery of the Andamans as a natural prison. There was little endemic or innate in island geography for it to serve as a prison.

However, a particular imagery and perception of nature and landscape influenced the way that space was used, controlled and transformed. This book not only demonstrates this point in relation to the Andamans but has also sought to free the Islands from the 'island complex' and 'island metaphor', which was not always a product of geographical location but of the colonial encounter. It reveals that the island complex was mostly a Euro-centric

assumption that located islands, especially tropical islands, at the margins and extremities of the civilized and knowable world.

This book, by employing the lens of spatial history, de-links the Andamans from the colonial spatio-geographic imagination, questions the historical conceit in transforming spatial stereotypes into acquired wisdom, and establishes that all prisons are simply human constructs.

decontextualized. More specifically, culturally focused research has been criticized for its tendency to ascribe observed group differences to East– West binaries (e.g., individualism–collectivism, Judeo-Christian versus Confucian, etc.). Moreover, there is little attention paid to the larger historical and contemporary contexts that shape – and reshape – the social lives of these so-called 'traditional' cultural variables such as Confucianism or collectivism. Paranjpe (2002, 35) characterized cross-cultural psychology publications as displaying 'a distinct disdain for history'.

Similarly, Gjerde and Onishi (2000, 216–217) charged that the culture and psychology approach suffers from 'lack of attention to the historical and ideological sources of "culture" '. There are, of course, many historical and ideological forces underlying cultural values and cultural identity; namely, societies elaborate cultural narratives to various ends at particular moments in time.

In particular, the relationship of these cultural elaborations to historical and contemporary legacies of colonialism have received scant attention in psychology, perhaps because most active scholarship on colonialism has taken place outside the disciplinary boundaries of psychology. Because we draw from discussions in colonial and postcolonial studies, which may be unfamiliar to some psychologists, we begin with a brief review of some key-relevant arguments. We then proceed with an examination of the link between colonialism (and postcolonialism) and psychology in two ways. First, we examine various ways in which colonial pasts

continue to matter to the psychological experiences of individuals in the present, particularly with respect to identity-related struggles and social functioning.

Second, we consider the relevance of colonial legacies to the practice and study of psychology in formerly colonized states. In this vein, we consider the significance and social life of hegemonic Western-centered psychologies in former colonies.

We make note of current efforts in various areas of social and cross-cultural psychology to build a knowledge base of the psychology from the perspectives of the individuals and groups with historical legacies of colonialization, as well as some of the ways in these efforts fall short because of their overreliance on the East–West cultural binaries to frame the indigenizing efforts. We end with a discussion of the challenges that lie ahead.

Colonial/postcolonial discourses

Analysis of colonialism and its legacies necessarily calls for attention to its prominent ideological cornerstones: race and 'culture'. For psychology, it is important to underscore that colonial discourses engage the psychological, taking up questions of the human capacity, pathology, and identity of the colonized. Colonialism is a specific form of oppression. An increasingly rich literature explores how the colonial subject is

made through elaborate systems that measure, compare, and explain human difference; these are the processes that justify that radical imposition of the colonizer on 'inferior' people in need of intervention.

Colonial regimes are elaborated discursively by differentiating between the colonizer's 'superior' or 'more civilized' ways of life and the colonized people's allegedly 'inferior' or 'savage' ways Scholars look to a wide range of domains to observe this subject-making: from medicine, to city planning, to exhibition, to ethnography, to

science, to history writing – and of course to more obvious arenas of social control such as schools and the military (Anderson, 2006; Chakrabarty, 2000; Mitchell, 1991; Young, 1990).

We consider that these colonial legacies are in fact part of a larger transcultural and historical project, namely, East–West distinction-making – and the practice of claiming the unique non-Western aspects of national culture that marks the East Asian modern self, which some scholars have called self-orientalizing practices (Gjerde & Onishi, 2000; Ong, 1999).

Moreover, this project has taken shape as a cultural coproduction between the East and the West (Hay, 1970). For example, anthropologist Aihwa Ong described how – in the post-Mao era – the Chinese state and media began to revive Confucianist ideology as a moral force that can serve to maintain cultural and ethnic continuities between mainland and overseas Chinese and to reign in the Western dangers of economic individualism and cultural excess.

In her work with the Chinese parents (who grew up with the anti-Confucian Maoist rhetoric during China's Cultural Revolution) and their children born under the one-child policy, anthropologist Vanessa Fong (2004) details the complex and contradictory cultural and national identities of contemporary Chinese adolescents.

From these perspectives, which situate the cultural discourse within the modern historical and political context, the notion of Confucianism or collectivism as 'cultural' characteristics of 'indigenous' non-Western cultures begins to lose its meaning. Importantly, these works show that there is more complexity to the discourse of the modern Asian selfhood beyond the idea of a power relationship typified by Western domination and native resistanceThus, the sense of cultural self throughout the world is necessarily a conversation that is held in relationship to hegemonic

Western ideas/ ideologies: the collectivistic/individualistic distinction is as such best appreciated as one born in interaction.

For example, Liu (1995) showed through her analysis of translingual practice (e.g., translation and introduction of terms such as 'self ' and 'individualism' into the Chinese language) that the ideology of individualism in China evolved in the context of China's violent encounters with the West as well as Japan.

In the case of former colonies, then, this matrix is further complicated. In summary, the vocabularies of cultural and psychological selfhood have long histories that intersect power relations, racial regimes, and colonial/imperial discourses. By now, it makes little sense to think of enduring cultural differences unmediated by these processes.

Colonial Encounters and Identity

Many sociocultural anthropologists and archaeologists refer to the "colonial entanglement" as a way to emphasize the complexities and ambiguities of power relationships and identities of colonizers and their host communities in colonial encounters (for example, N. Thomas 1991; Dietler 1998). Work by Lightfoot, Deagan, and others has shown that the interregional interaction networks within which colonies are founded bring multiple groups into contact not just colonizers and host communities.

In these encounters, the social identities of colonizers, other foreign communities associated with the colonizers, and host communities can all change. Much, if not most, attention has focused on identity transformations in the host communities, often implicitly or explicitly relying on the traditional "acculturation" model of culture contact.

This model assumes a unidirectionality in which the dominant colonizing "donor" culture transforms the more passive indigenous "recipient" culture of the host community. Similarly, archaeologists have traditionally viewed the social identity of the colonizing group

as essentially static, mirroring the culture of the homeland in both ideology and material culture. If items of material culture did not exactly mirror the material culture of the colonial homeland, then they were assumed to reflect a process of local emulation, in which elites (and others) in the host community selectively appropriated high-status symbols and items of colonial material culture.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSES OF COLONIAL ENCOUNTERS

The contributors to this volume examine colonial encounters from two complementary perspectives:

(1) a “top-down” approach that focuses on local, regional, or interregional political economy, and

(2) a “bottom-up” approach that emphasizes individual or small group agency as it relates to identity and its transformations. Clearly, theseanalytical foci are always intertwined at a fundamental level; both are necessary in order to develop a nuanced, holistic understanding of the complexities of colonial encounters. In fact, one might argue that the very disjunctures and ambiguities that so characterize colonial encounters provide an ideal context for understanding the intersection of political economy and identity. The chapters in this book reflect these complementary approaches.

Post colonialism and psychology

Of the theoretical resources typically taken as the underlying foundations of critical social psychology, elements, typically, each of Marxism, feminism, psychoanalysis, and, perhaps chiefly, the 'turn to text' characteristic of Post-Structuralism (Gough & McFadden, 2001; Hepburn, 2003; Parker, 1999, 2002; Walkerdine, 2002), one particular mode of critique remains notably absent, that of postcolonial theory.

What makes this omission so conspicuous is that much postcolonial theory is explicitly psychological in both its concerns and its critical

resources. Fanon's (1986) Black Skin White Masks, for example, makes ample reference to various psychological and psychoanalytic formulations as way of accentuating what one might term the 'identity trauma' of blackness in colonial contexts, and as way of articulating the depth and tenacity of the psychical components of racism (Bulhan, 1985).

Homi Bhabha (1983) likewise cross-references a series of psychoanalytic notions – chiefly that of the fetish, but also the condensation and displacement of the dreamwork, and the narcissistic aggressivity of the mirror-stage ego-formation – in his reformulation of that classic social psychological notion of the stereotype.

While the conceptual framework of psychoanalysis is absent in the writings of Steve Biko (1978), his political objectives are powerfully, even if strategically psychological in nature. It is by drawing upon the terms of this discourse of self, identity, subjectivity that certain of the key features of the Black Consciousness Movement come to light.

In many ways Black Consciousness takes as its goal exactly the consolidation of positive and politicizedforms of black culture and identity, certainly inasmuch as they play their role in generating political solidarity amongst the oppressed.

Each of these above sets of critical formulations provide powerful ways of thinking the conjunction of the psychological and the political, the affective and the structural, the psychical and the governmental. We have as such a powerfully critical combination of registers that one would take to lie at the centre of critical psychology's ostensibly critical concerns (Hayes, 1989; Hook, 2004a). Why then have such post- or anti-colonial thinkers 1 not featured more strongly in the conceptual resources of critical social psychology? How might their work, and their characteristic concerns – racism, colonial discourse, cultural dispossession, alterity,

psychical mutilation, resistance, etc. - alert us to gaps in the growing orthodoxy of critical psychology.

To approach the question from another direction: what might be said to be the 'critical psychology' of these theorists, and particularly of Frantz Fanon and Steve Biko? How might their use of the register of the psychological within the political and their concerns with the cultural dynamics of colonisation alert us to the possibilities of psychology as a vocabulary of resistance?

Furthermore, what does each of these critics have to tell us about the crowning problematic of the colonial and postcolonial condition, namely that of racism, a phenomena that seems as political as it does psychical in nature? Before turning to a brief discussion of the work of each of the above theorists it will be necessary to underline what I mean when I refer both to 'critical social psychology' and 'postcolonial criticism'.

Critical social psychology and political critique There have been a series of attempted definitions of critical social psychology of late. Gough & McFadden (2001), for example, have put forward an understanding of a critical social psychology that 'challenges social institutions and practices – including the discipline of psychology – that contribute to forms of inequality and oppression' (p. 2).

This is a version of social psychology, they suggest, in which practitioners situate themselves within society and its problems, a social psychology which 'gets involved, which adopts particular positions in important debates on…issues such as prejudice, violence…crime, etc' (p. 2).

Valerie Walkerdine (2002) has similarly suggested a move away from the academy to politics, an understanding of a critical psychology that expresses a pronounced commitment to the theories of poststructuralism, and that stresses the importance 'not of psychology per se, but…of the subject and conceptions of

subjectivity for politics' (p. 1). Critical psychology she claims is hence 'an umbrella term which describes a number of politically radical responses to and differences from mainstream psychology…[including] perspectives of…feminism, ethnic and anti-racist politics' (Walkerdine, 2002, p. 2).

Tellingly however, Walkerdine (2002) comments on how the political commitment which has generated such anti-racist, feminist, gay liberation changes seems largely 'to have has been lost' (p. 2) Hepburn (2003) thinks of critical social psychology as focussed on issues of politics, morality and social change, and as being predominantly concerned with issues of oppression, exploitation and human well-being.

Critical social psychology though is also 'critical of psychology itself…its assumptions, its practices' (p. 1). However, she notes (2003), this dual task of criticizing society and criticizing the discipline sometimes leads to these two factors working against one another.

Postcolonial criticism Having identified an area of concern within the general domain of critical psychology, we should now turn our attention to introducing the 'postcolonial'. In this connection, we may turn to Homi Bhabha who provides an adroit summary of both the concerns and the scope of postcolonial criticism.

(Although I will not discuss Bhabha's work in any detail here, he usefully enables us to frame the discussion of the writings of Fanon and Biko, and to emphasize at certain points, trenchant points of my overall argument). Postcolonial criticism, he writes 'bears witness to the unequal and uneven forces of cultural representation involved in the contest for political and social authority within the modern world' (1994, p. 171).

Lack of distinct disciplinary identity

Anthropology brought to the world of ideas and concepts in the 20th century a commitment to empirically-based field research, a concern for understanding the diversity of cultures, a respect for the functional legitimacy of those cultures, and skepticism about the utility of the introduction of western ideas and technology. By the mid-point in the 20th century, the relatively young disciplines of psychology, demography and epidemiology became prominent in their separate domains providing varied perspectives on health issues. Psychology generated the primary theory and models of intervention for behavioral change that have been applied to a wide range of health concerns including mental health, substance abuse, lifestyle factors related to chronic disease, and HIV/AIDS. Demography, focused on population growth and transition, has played a central role in issues of fertility and family planning, infant and child morbidity, and reproductive health. A key element of international demography has been the Demographic and Health Survey (Macro International, 2005), which has been administered over 200 times in 70 countries. Epidemiological concepts and methods have become the hallmark of studies on infectious and chronic diseases in the US and internationally, and have established the designs and criteria for testing the efficacy of interventions and for monitoring disease vectors through sentinel surveillance. The interface of anthropology with psychology, demography, and epidemiology has involved mutual criticism for much of the latter part of the 20th century. On the one hand anthropology is seen as qualitative, anecdotal, utilizing small samples and limited in its generalizations. On the other hand, anthropologists viewed the three other disciplines as imposing universal theories and results, not providing sufficient recognition of cultural diversity and context, and not utilizing the perspectives of members of the population under study. The broad survey approaches of epidemiology and demography were critically viewed by anthropologists, whereas epidemiologists and demographers looked with some disdain on ethnographic methods. Nevertheless, each of the disciplines had sectors that reached out to one another,

evolving sub-fields such as personality and culture (Barnouw, 1963; Wallace, 1970), anthropological demography (Kertzer & Fricke, 1997), cultural and social epidemiology (Janes et al., 1986; Trostle, 2005), and cross-cultural psychology (Bingham et al., 1999; Lopez & Guarnaccia 2000). Furthermore, professionals within the respective disciplines have called for greater collaboration to address societal problems (e.g., Sherif, 1963; Janes et al., 1986; Kertzer & Fricke, 1997; Trostle, 2005). The rise of large scale NIH-funded domestic health projects in the realms of chronic disease, mental health, alcohol and drug abuse, and international projects funded by USAID have created the opportunities for the fields of anthropology, psychology and epidemiology to work together in addressing common problems. By the 1980s, research and intervention projects in minority and low income communities in the United States and in developing countries brought together representatives from multiple disciplines to address cultural differences, design interventions, promote behavioral change and evaluate efficacy. The growing degree of disciplinary collaboration was given even more impetus with the emergence of the HIV pandemic. Here was a problem that could not be the province of one discipline and required multiple and innovative approaches to treatment and prevention.

The collaborative process: facilitating and inhibiting factors This project team represented great diversity in terms of country of origin and residence (USA and India), institutional base (universities, nongovernmental institutions, private business and governmental agencies), discipline (anthropology, demography, medicine, microbiology, psychology, and public health), religion (Hindu, Muslim, Christian, and Jewish) and work experience (research and intervention), age (30–63), gender, and socioeconomic and educational background.

The enormous potential for positive production by such a diverse team is balanced with the equivalent potential for misunderstanding and miscommunication both professionally and interpersonally. In

this section we examine the inhibiting and facilitating factors that influenced the process of collaboration.

Inhibiting factors Inhibiting factors reflected the influence of geographical distance, institutional culture, language differences, and disciplinary and personal variations in belief systems and practices. The two parts of the RISHTA team, East and West, were 10,000 miles apart and had to depend on e-mail as the major mode of long distance communication. E-mail can greatly facilitate communication; for example, e-mails sent from the U.S. in the evening could be responded to by morning and e-mails sent in the evening from India were available in the U.S. by early morning. At the same time, e-mail can be a quicker mode of "miscommunication" as short statements are used to sort out complex issues or a lack of communication is viewed as a kind of message. E-mail correspondence thus became another forum for negotiating perspectives and modes of communication across disciplines and cultures. The two collaborating universities each had concerns about the nature of the project.

The demographic university in India was unsure about its role in intervention in local communities, because research and national policy had been its primary foci to date. There has also been some uncertainty expressed at IIPS as to demography's role in sexuality and sexual risk research.

Some faculty at IIPS have been concerned that the interest in RISHTA among the demography graduate students has provided too much encouragement for them to focus their Master's and Ph.D. theses on sexual risk. At the same time, UCHC in the U. S. had not shown a strong commitment to international research. The Institute for Community Research primarily focused on local research and intervention but was committed to international work with other current projects in China, India, and South America.

The NIMH grant was received by the UCHC and funds were committed to a sub-contract with IIPS. In the original budget proposal it was envisaged that the U.S. University would receive 80% of the funds and the Indian university 20%. This was estimated largely due to the imbalance in the salaries that were ten times higher in U.S. than in India. However, over the lifetime of the project, additional funds from the U.S. side were allocated to the India side increasing Indian share to the total budget to 35%.

The additional funds were allocated to the India side due to the weakness of the US dollar, the rising costs of personnel in India and the costs associated with STD testing. On the India-side, the staff consists of 18 full-time staff and two faculty, whereas on the US-side there are one full-time faculty equivalent (PI, co-PI and statistician) and two full time staff.

The process of negotiating budgets for the IIPS sub-contract is primarily conducted by the PI (S. Schensul) and the co-PIs at IIPS. Despite the re-budgeting there is a sense on the India-side that flexible funds are always available on the US-side and that cost-overruns and expansion of the sub-contract is always possible, giving way to some degree of tension at the beginning and end of each grant year.

What is Western: Greek heritage, medieval period and modern period. Structuralism, Functionalism, Psychoanalytical, Gestalt, Behaviorism, Humanistic-Existential, Transpersonal, Cognitive revolution, Multiculturalism ?

Western: Greek heritage, medieval period and modern period. Structuralism, Functionalism, Psychoanalytical, Gestalt, Behaviorism, Humanistic-Existential, Transpersonal, Cognitive revolution, Multiculturalism

Western psychology greek heritage

The roots of western psychology can be traced to Greek philosophy. The word psychology itself is derived from the Greek words ‘psyche’ which means soul and ‘logos’ which means study. Psychology thus started as a part of philosophy and became an independent discipline much later.

Plato and Aristotle where among the first philosophers who thought about the mind.

Plato believed that body and mind are two separate entities and mind could exist even after death. But he was positive in that education can bring change to the basic nature of the mind. Aristotle, who was the disciple of Plato, followed the feet of his teacher and believed in the body-mind duality. But he thought that of each of these is the manifestation of the other. He, but, was pessimistic about the role of education in changing the fundamental nature of humans.

Rene Descartes, the French philosopher and mathematician, who originated the Cartesian system of coordinates or the coordinate geometry, also believed in the body-mind duality. But he was open enough to consider that there is an uninterrupted transaction between the body and the mind.

In the eighteenth century AD, John Locke, a British national, proposed that knowledge depends upon the experience based on the sense organ and that thinking is not innate. He also considered that the mind of a newly-born child is like a clean-slate on which anything can be written. Locke believed that knowledge occurs only when the sense organs interact with the outer world.

These two ideas – the body-mind duality and the 'clean-slate' mind - have been the strong roots of the western psychology for many decades. Only in the twentieth century western psychologists, especially Jung, Maslow and others, were able to break free from this limiting concepts.

In the twentieth century AD, German scientist E.H.Weber attempted a scientific approach in the study of the mind by his finding of the quantitative relation between stimulus intensity and the resultant sensory experience. This was later known as the Weber's law.

Almost in the same period, G.T.Fechner, who is called the father of quantitative psychology, coined psycho-physics which is the quantitative study of external structures and sensory experience.

Then came Darwin with his revolutionary 'origin of species' which influenced psychology and human thought.

In 1879, Wilhelm Wundt, a German scientist, established the world's first psychological lab at Leipzig, Germany. His aim was to prove that there is a physical activity for every mental activity. He opined that psychologists should study sensation, perception, and emotions.

In the first decade of the 20th Century AD, the Russian psychologist Ivan P. Pavlov made a path breaking finding when he was studying the digestion process in dogs. Before the experimental

dog was given food, a bell was sounded. When this was repeated several times, the dog started salivating the very moment it heard the bell sound. Pavlov called this the conditioned reflex. This was one of the greatest findings that made radical changes in the field of psychology.

Major Schools of Psychology

Structuralism

Titchner and his followers said that conciseness can be analyzed into three—sensation, perception and feeling. Titchner and his followers are called structuralists and their main method for study of mind was introspection.

Functionalism:-

William James, the father of American Psychology, J.R.Angels and John Dewey argued that psychologists should study the function of the mind and not its structure. These group of psychologists are called functionalists.

Freud and Psycho Analysis

Sigmund Freud of Vienna, who is considered as the father of modern psychology, originated a new method called the Free Association Technique. Freud considered that mind has three parts – the conscious, the pre-conscious and the unconscious. He considered that 90% of the mind is the unconscious mind. He argued that Id (unconscious mind) is the seat of repression, and instincts. Freud further considered that behind any behavior is the libido energy.

He divided the personality into three – id, ego, superego. Of these, Id goes after pleasure and thus is said to be governed by the

pleasure principle. Ego which is the organized part of Id is driven by the Reality Principle. Superego connects the id to the external world and is considered the conscience.

Later, Erich Frome, Karan Horney, Erik Erikson, Harry Sullivan and Otto Rank improved upon the ideas of Frued and so they are called Neo Fruedians.

Alfred Adler and Individual Psychology

Alfred Adler gave the focus to society because he thought that since we are social animals we should give emphasis on social factors. He argued that, the will to power and superiority are thus more important than sex or will to pleasure. So, the individual will try to overcome the deficits he has or he thinks he has. He will try to show superiority or ambition. Inferiority complex is the most important concept Adler added to psychology. His psychology is called Individual Psychology.

Jung and Analytical Psychology

Carl Gustav Jung, like Adler, was in the psychoanalytical camp in the beginning, but later parted with Freud to create his own (school of) psychology called the Analytical Psychology. He dismissed the Freudian theory that the only motive that drive the unconscious is sex. Jung extended the concept of the unconscious beyond the individual. Thus he said that there is a collective unconscious besides the individual unconscious. He postulated that the racial memory of centuries is precipitated in the unconscious of each individual. According to him, the main ingredient of the collective unconscious is the archetype.

Behaviorism

John B. Watson, also of America, proposed that psychologists as scientists should study observable human nature and not the concepts like mind, consciousness etc.

He and his followers tried to explain behavior based on stimulus and response. They are called behaviorists and their school of psychology is called behaviorism. Tolman, Hull and B.F.Skinner are the later behaviorists. Skinner originated operant conditioning which is one of the most used techniques for psychological therapy today.

Gestalt Psychology

Gestalt Psychology was a reaction to the over emphasis of reductionistic methods in psychology. The gestalt psychologists were against this blind reliance on analysis and reductionism. They believed that behavior should be understood in a holistic way. Max Wertheimer, Wolfgang Kohler, Kurt Kafka were the first proponents of this school psychology.

Humanistic Psychology

Some psychologists believed that neither Frued et al nor the behaviorists could include the complexity and uniqueness of man their studies of psychology. So a group of psychologists gave human experience more importance and they are called humanists. They argued that man is a subjective animal. The humanists counted that the motives for development and to become perfect are more important than sex, power etc. They brought back the dignity of man that Frued and others undignified.

They denied Freudian unconscious or behaviorstic environment as the ultimate basis of behavior and said that man is not a slave of either the unconscious or the situation. Gestalt psychology, Indian Psychology, Psychology of Consciousness, Environmental

Psychology, Para Psychology are the schools of psychology that are included in Humanistic psychology. Gordon W Allport, Carl Rogers, and Abraham Maslow are some of the early proponents of humanistic psychology.

The Three Major Forces in Modern Psychology

There are three major forces in psychology. Freudian Psychoanalysis and the offshoots from it are considered the First Force in Psychology. This has been very dominant in the earlier part of the 20th century but has given way to the second force in psychology called behaviorism. Currently, behaviorism is also slowly reaching its end. Slowly, holistic and more natural ways are coming to the main stream.

This is the third force in psychology – the Humanistic Psychology. Many experts foresee that by the first or second decade of the 21st century, humanistic psychology will become the dominant major force. This is because that man will slowly come to realize that the origin of bliss is in himself and so man will turn to himself for truth, beauty, happiness, success, and achievement. Neither Freudian psychology nor Behaviorism can be of definite help in this stage.

Medieval period and modern period of psychology

The Middle Ages has had a poor reputation among twentieth-century psychologists. Edwin Boring, in A History of Experimental Psychology (New York, 1929), held that late medieval thinking was based largely on theology and hence tended to be opposed to science. Gregory Zilboorg, in his History of Medical Psychology (New York, 1941), claimed that medieval medical practitioners were afraid to look into either normal or abnormal psychology and that the mentally ill were frequently regarded either as possessed by a devil

or as witches. Introductory texts have occasionally taken this argument several stages further, claiming that the mentally ill in the Middle Ages were liable to be tortured or burnt at the stake as a consequence of the belief that they were possessed by a devil.

Historians of psychology in the later twentieth century did not substantiate claims that the mentally ill were routinely treated with cruelty in the Middle Ages. Moreover, they generally took a more sympathetic view of the period, finding that medieval philosophers, physicians, and even theologians produced and debated interesting theories of human behavior, although they seem to have done little to test them experimentally.

The Middle Ages

The Middle Ages are reckoned to run from the fourth or fifth century CE to the middle or end of the fifteenth century CE. A period of nearly 1.000 years naturally saw a great deal of change, not only politically, but also intellectually. In Western and Central Europe at least, the first part of the Middle Ages (until the eleventh century), is known as the Dark Ages, when the relative political and economic backwardness of society, which followed the collapse of the Roman Empire in the west and the breakdown of the Mediterranean world, was reflected in an apparently impoverished intellectual culture. Few writings of any kind survived from this period, and ancient writers like Plato and Aristotle seem to have been little read. Read more about The Middle Ages.

Medieval Psychology

There was no formal discipline called psychology in the Middle Ages, but a number of medieval writers, particularly those from the thirteenth century, discussed concerns similar to those of present-

day psychologists. More important, at least a few, for example, Avicenna and Albertus Magnus (1193-1280), seem to have been genuinely interested in psychological theory It is possible to discern at least two important psychological traditions in the writing of this period: a medical and a philosophical one, both stemming from ancient predecessors. Read more about Medieval Psychology.

From a 21st-century perspective, looking to our medieval ancestors for help in understanding the mind would seem to be a backward step. Those were the days, we think, of supernatural forces intervening in human affairs, and with views of medicine, biology and psychology that strike the modern reader as primitive and unsatisfyingly pre-scientific. A progressive view of human knowledge that sees it as inexorably proceeding towards greater understanding would suggest that we have little to learn from a psychology dating from the days before science.

Yet ideas about the mind in the medieval period, itself a huge span of time (from the late classical period to the 15th century) that saw many shifts in thought, were much more sophisticated than that caricature would allow. Here, we set out some prominent medieval models of mind and their implications for understanding memory, imagination, emotion and the relations between mind and body.

Why should we look back to medieval ideas about the mind? One reason is that the Middle Ages saw considerable engagement with questions of mind, body and affect, and the development of sophisticated thinking about psychology – at least among the educated élite, many of them clerics, who read and wrote the texts that have been passed down to us. Another reason is that medieval texts open onto a psychology that was not dominated, as many recent discourses are, by essentially Cartesian notions of mind–

body dualism. Before Descartes, mind and body were seen to interlink in ways that have a remarkably modern flavour.

Understanding medieval psychology, though, is fraught with problems. Interpreting any texts or images from so long ago requires a shift of belief systems, in order to appreciate the ontology and background of assumptions with which medieval thinkers operated. Social and cultural contexts were very different. Western medieval writing assumed a Christian thought world, and writing was frequently seen as the domain of men. Psychology was most of all the realm of theologians, who were interested in questions of desire, will, intention, sin and virtue. We cannot look for a straightforward cross-section of medieval thought: much writing is by religious men, and personal testimonies and accounts of experience are inevitably filtered through assumptions concerning gender, class and religious belief – as well as genre.

But hazards are also opportunities: medieval piety foregrounded affective experience, meditation and prayer, and the need to shun distractions in order to stay focused on those tasks. We can also look to imaginative fiction, which offers especially valuable insights into cultural attitudes and experience, of both men and women, and which suggests how ideas of mind, body and affect carried over into secular culture.

Sensory and emotional charge

We aim to show how medieval w**r**iters approached the mind, highlighting some areas in which their ideas are particularly relevant to, and even prescient for, today's scientific psychology. Just as modern psychology can be understood as a development of and challenge to Cartesian ideas about the separation of mind from

body, so medieval writers about the mind were working from the starting point of a particular intellectual landscape. Hippocrates' theory of the four humours, developed by Galen in the second century ce, underpinned the notion of a mind–body continuum, for humours shaped both mind and body. The distinction between mind and body was complex and more fluid than in post-Cartesian thought, complicated by ideas of the soul, by different views on where in the body faculties were situated, and by the integration of thought and affect.

The term 'mind' originated with the concept of memory, but quickly came to overlap with notions of the soul, and took on at least some aspects of current definitions of mind. Aristotle had situated the rational or intellective quality within the soul, and had located the heart as the centre of the senses and cognitive faculties; Galen by contrast associated these with the brain.

Neo-Platonic theories situated the immortal and rational part of the soul in the head, and the appetites and emotions in the trunk of the body. In the fourth century, St Augustine saw the will as a faculty of the (superior) soul and associated emotions with the (lower) body, but also saw emotions as having both cognitive and bodily aspects (Kemp, 1990).

Medieval Cognitive Psychology

Medieval ideas about cognitive psychology derive from two major sources, the writings of Aristotle and especially his work on the soul, the De Anima, and the theory of the inner senses, which was laid down in late antiquity. Aristotle's De Anima may be the most popular psychological text of all time: It was prescribed reading for Bachelor of Arts degrees throughout Europe until the end of the Middle Ages. The book is short and at times obscure, but it offers a systematic

account of psychology with Aristotle's ideas about other disciplines. Because of its obscurity, a number of medieval scholars wrote books or commentaries in which they set out what they thought Aristotle meant. Those by Averroes and Aquinas are probably the best known. Read more about Medieval Cognitive Psychology.

Mental Illness in the Middle Ages

Medieval ideas about mental illness were almost as bewildering an assortment as our own, but a unifying theme was supplied by the cognitive theory outlined here. It was generally believed that the normal waking person's activities were under the control of the mind. In cases of insanity this control was disrupted or corrupted and behavior would then, like an animal's, be simply determined by the inner senses and the appetites. Consequently, in later medieval legal theory and practice, and in the writings of theologians, the insane were not held accountable for their actions. Read more about Mental Illness in the Middle Ages.

Structuralism of psychology

Structuralism, in psychology, a systematic movement founded in Germany by Wilhelm Wundt and mainly identified with Edward B. Titchener. Structuralism sought to analyze the adult mind (defined as the sum total of experience from birth to the present) in terms of the simplest definable components and then to find the way in which these components fit together in complex forms.

The major tool of structuralist psychology was introspection (a careful set of observations made under controlled conditions by trained observers using a stringently defined descriptive vocabulary). Titchener held that an experience should be evaluated as a fact, as it exists without analyzing the significance or value of

that experience. For him, the “anatomy of the mind” had little to do with how or why the mind functions. In his major treatise, *A Textbook of Psychology* (1909–10), he stated that the only elements necessary to describe the conscious experience are sensation and affection (feeling). The thought process essentially was deemed an occurrence of sensations of the current experience and feelings representing a prior experience.

Although structuralism represented the emergence of psychology as a field separate from philosophy, the structural school lost considerable influence when Titchener died. The movement led, however, to the development of several countermovements that tended to react strongly to European trends in the field of experimental psychology. Behaviour and personality were beyond the scope considered by structuralism. In separating meaning from the facts of experience, structuralism opposed the phenomenological tradition of Franz Brentano’s act psychology and Gestalt psychology, as well as the functionalist school and John B. Watson’s behaviourism Serving as a catalyst to functionalism, structuralism was always a minority school of psychology in America.

Culture-and-personality studies

Culture-and-personality studies, also called **psychological anthropology**, branch of cultural anthropology that seeks to determine the range of personality types extant in a given culture and to discern where, on a continuum from ideal to perverse, the culture places each type. The type perceived as ideal within a culture is then referred to as the “personality” of the culture itself, as with duty-bound stoicism among the English and personal restraint among traditional Pueblo Indians.

Culture-and-personality studies apply the methods of psychology to the field of anthropology, including in-depth interviews, role playing, Rorschach tests, elaborate biographies, studies of family roles, and dream interpretation. Most popular in the 1930s and ’40s, psychological anthropology is exemplified by the works of American anthropologist Ruth Benedict, especially *Patterns of Culture* (1934) and *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946). Benedict and other proponents of culture-and-personality studies directed the attention of anthropologists to the symbolic meanings and emotional significance of cultural features that had hitherto been considered primarily through functional analysis; at the same time, they led psychologists to recognize the existence of an inevitable cultural component in all processes of perception, motivation, and learning.

Culture-and-personality studies lost traction in the 1960s and ’70s, an era characterized by shifting scholarly sensibilities and the critical reexamination of many fundamental anthropological concepts.

Neuropsychology

Observations on behaviour with neurological observations on the central nervous system (CNS), including the brain. The field emerged through the work of Paul Broca and Carl Wernicke (1848–1905), both of whom identified sites on the cerebral cortex involved in the production or comprehension of language. Great strides have since been made in describing neuroanatomical systems and their relation to higher mental processes. The related field of neuropsychiatry addresses itself to disorders such as aphasia, Korsakoff syndrome, Tourette syndrome, and other CNS abnormalities. *See also* laterality.

Cognitive psychology

Cognitive psychology, Branch of psychology devoted to the study of human cognition, particularly as it affects learning and behaviour. The field grew out of advances in Gestalt, developmental, and comparative psychology and in computer science, particularly information-processing research. Cognitive psychology shares many research interests with cognitive science, and some experts classify it as a branch of the latter. Contemporary cognitive theory has followed one of two broad approaches: the developmental approach, derived from the work of Jean Piaget and concerned with “representational thought” and the construction of mental models (“schemas”) of the world, and the information-processing approach, which views the human mind as analogous to a sophisticated computer system.

Functionalism of psychology

U.S. during the late 19th century that attempted to counter the German school of structuralism led by Edward B. Titchener. Functionalists, including psychologists William James and James Rowland Angell, and philosophers George H. Mead, Archibald L. Moore, and John Dewey, stressed the importance of empirical, rational thought over an experimental, trial-and-error philosophy. The group was concerned more with the capability of the mind than with the process of thought. The movement was thus interested primarily in the practical applications of research.

The union between theory and application reached its zenith with John Dewey’s development of a laboratory school at the University of Chicago in 1896 and the publication of his keystone article, “The Reflex Arc Concept in Psychology” (1896), which attacked the philosophy of atomism and the concept of elementarism, including the behavioral theory of stimulus and

response. The work of John Dewey and his associates stimulated the progressive-school movement, which attempted to apply functionalist principles to education. In the early and mid-20th century, an offshoot theory emerged: the transactional theory of perception, the central thesis of which is that learning is the key to perceiving.

Although functionalism has never become a formal, prescriptive school, it has served as a historic link in the philosophical evolution linking the structuralist's concern with the anatomy of the mind to the concentration on the functions of the mind and, later, to the development and growth of john.

Parapsychology,

Discipline concerned with investigating events that cannot be accounted for by natural law and knowledge that cannot have been obtained through the usual sensory abilities. Parapsychology studies the cognitive phenomena often called extrasensory perception, in which a person acquires knowledge of other people's thoughts or of future events through channels apparently beyond the five senses. It also examines physical phenomena such as the levitation of objects and the bending of metal through psychokinesis.

Though belief in such phenomena may be traced to earliest times, parapsychology as a subject of serious research originated in the late 19th century, partly in reaction to the growth of the spiritualist movement. The Society of Psychical Research was established in London in 1882, and similar societies were later founded in the U.S. and in many European countries. In the 20th century research into parapsychology was also conducted at some universities, notably at Duke University under J. B. Rhine.

Psychoanalytic of Psychology

The rise of pharmacological treatments for emotional distress and psychiatric conditions has led some to proclaim the end of psychoanalysis — or to dismiss it as having an insufficient basis in scientific data. But it would be a mistake to count this form of talk therapy out. Research suggests that the psychoanalytic approach still plays an important therapeutic role. And Freud's theory of mind remains a fundamental part of many talk therapies, including psychoanalysis.

Psychoanalysis is a method of treating emotional difficulties that involves communication between a psychoanalyst and an individual, with the goal of gaining insight into the individual's inner world and how it affects his or her emotions, behavior, and relationships. Psychoanalysis is also a system of ideas about the human mind and personality. Although both the method and the theory have advanced since Freud's day, some of his basic ideas continue to shape our thinking about human behavior and functioning.

One fundamental Freudian concept is the powerful effect of the unconscious part of the mind on our feelings, actions, relationships, and endeavors. Unconscious conflicts can cause anxiety, moodiness, or depressive thoughts; troubling personality traits; or difficulties at work or in finding or maintaining long-term relationships. Many such problems have their roots in past experiences and relationships.

Psychoanalysis seeks to bring troubling unconscious forces into conscious awareness. With the insights gained during analysis, the patient can work at improving relationships and productivity, interrupt self-defeating or self-destructive patterns, and perhaps even unlock creative potential.

How it works

The psychoanalyst and patient meet three to five times a week. This intensive schedule of one-on-one sessions helps establish the psychoanalyst's office as a place where the patient can safely free-associate — that is, talk about whatever comes to mind, whenever it comes to mind — and develop a deep bond with the analyst. The frequent meetings also encourage the emergence of the patient's full range of personality traits and behavior patterns, an important step on the path to self-understanding. Use of the couch, a holdover from Freud's day, is no longer required. Some people find that lying down facilitates free association and helps them focus their thoughts inward. Others find it more helpful to sit face to face with the analyst.

Psychoanalysis is a collaborative effort. As the patient free-associates, the analyst listens carefully and helps her grasp the underlying unconscious sources of her difficulties. To encourage this awareness, the analyst not only interprets ongoing patterns (interpretations the patient is welcome to amend, reject, or supplement), but also encourages the patient to re-experience them in the safety of the analytic setting. In psychoanalytic parlance, this is known as "transference." The patient relives her life's story by transferring to the analyst feelings and attitudes she originally experienced in her relationships with other people.

For example, a woman consistently arrives 10 or 15 minutes late for her appointments, and the analyst learns that she also does this with her boss and her husband. By examining the feelings the analyst arouses as she talks about her reasons for being late — or perhaps realizing her anger with authority figures — she can begin

to become conscious of her motives for wanting to make others wait for her or become angry at her.

Psychoanalysis is a lengthy process, usually requiring several years — 5.7 years, on average, according to one survey — to resolve long-standing difficulties, such as self-defeating behavior patterns or problems forming personal relationships. One reason it can take so many sessions is that, like old habits, maladaptive life patterns "die hard." There may be many variations to work through. The hope is that over time, the individual can recover lost emotional connections, give up unhealthy ones, and adapt more effectively to her current circumstances.

Psychoanalysis may help with such complaints as "I have difficulty finding a suitable partner," "I never feel excited about my friendships," or "I keep missing deadlines at work and sabotaging my career." Less intensive psychotherapy may be more appropriate for short-term concerns such as "I'm very sad that my child is leaving for college," unless these feelings are related to longer-standing behavior patterns. Distressing symptoms such as phobias, anxieties, and depression also respond to psychoanalysis, sometimes with the help of a medication.

Health insurance may cover part — though given the current emphasis on short-term treatment, generally not all — of the cost of psychoanalysis. Treatment is often available for a reduced fee at a psychoanalytic training institute (see "How to find a psychoanalyst"). Also, the analyst and patient may work out a lower fee or method of delayed payments.

How it differs from other psychotherapy

There are many types of psychoanalytically informed psychotherapy, and many approaches used in psychotherapy today grew out of classical psychoanalysis. These variant forms are usually less intensive versions of psychoanalysis. Expressive and psychodynamic psychotherapy, for example, emphasize the importance of finding unconscious motivations and gaining insight into one's actions and feelings. By contrast, short-term structured therapies such as cognitive behavioral therapy, which is outside the psychoanalytic tradition, focus on resolving current symptoms and behavioral problems without necessarily developing insight into their origins.

Psychoanalysis may not be for everyone, but many women with emotional difficulties can benefit from psychodynamic psychotherapy — that is, meeting with a therapist once a week to discuss painful feelings that may underlie a specific problem or pattern of thinking or behavior. Like psychoanalysis, it assumes that the unconscious is involved and that past experiences and relationships can affect the present. Psychodynamic psychotherapy can last anywhere from a few months to several years.

Both psychoanalysis and psychodynamic psychotherapy can be combined with medication, couples' therapy, group therapy, or family therapy.

Qualifications for psychoanalysts

For many years, psychoanalytic training in the United States was available only to medical doctors, but now there are several reputable psychoanalysis programs that don't require an M.D. for admission. They generally do require an advanced degree, however. Psychologists (Ph.D. or Psy.D.) and clinical social workers (M.S.W. or C.S.W.) as well as psychiatrists and other M.D.s are all

eligible for training as psychoanalysts. The training includes four to five years of classes and supervised work with patients, and an aspiring psychoanalyst must undergo psychoanalysis herself.

Gestalt of Psychology

Gestalt psychology is a school of thought that looks at the human mind and behavior as a whole. When trying to make sense of the world around us, Gestalt psychology suggests that we do not simply focus on every small component.

Instead, our minds tend to perceive objects as part of a greater whole and as elements of more complex systems. This school of psychology played a major role in the modern development of the study of human sensation and perception.

A Brief History

Originating in the work of Max Wertheimer, Gestalt psychology formed partially as a response to the structuralism of Wilhelm Wundt.

While Wundt was interested in breaking down psychological matters into their smallest possible part, the Gestalt psychologists were instead interested in looking at the totality of the mind and behavior. The guiding principle behind the Gestalt movement was that the whole was greater than the sum of its parts.

The development of this area of psychology was influenced by a number of thinkers, including Immanuel Kant, Ernst Mach, and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

The development of Gestalt psychology was influenced in part by Wertheimer's observations one day at a train station. He purchased a toy stroboscope which displayed pictures in a rapid sequence to

mimic the appearing movement. He later proposed the concept of the Phi phenomenon in which flashing lights in sequence can lead to what is known as apparent motion.[1]

In other words, we perceive movement where there is none. Movies are one example of apparent motion. Through a sequence of still frames, the illusion of movement is created.

"The fundamental 'formula' of Gestalt theory might be expressed in this way," Max Wertheimer wrote. "There are wholes, the behavior of which is not determined by that of their individual elements, but where the part-processes are themselves determined by the intrinsic nature of the whole. It is the hope of Gestalt theory to determine the nature of such wholes."

Major Gestalt Psychologists

There were a number of thinkers who had an influence on Gestalt psychology. Some of the best-known Gestalt psychologists included:

Max Wertheimer: Regarded as one of the three founders of Gestalt psychology, Wertheimer is also known for his concept of the phi phenomenon. The phi phenomenon involves perceiving a series of still images in rapid succession in order to create the illusion of movement.

Kurt Koffka: Know as one of the three founders of Gestalt psychology, Kurt Koffka had diverse interests and studied many topics in psychology including learning, perception, and hearing impairments.

Wolfgang Kohler: Also a key founding figure in the history of the Gestalt movement, Kohler also famously summarized Gestalt theory

by saying, "The whole is different than the sum of its parts." He was also known for his research on problem-solving, his criticisms of the introspection used by the structuralists to study the human mind, and his opposition to behaviorism.

Gestalt Laws of Perceptual Organization

Have you ever noticed how a series of flashing lights often appear to be moving, such as neon signs or strands of Christmas lights? According to Gestalt psychology, this apparent movement happens because our minds fill in the missing information.

This belief that the whole is greater than the sum of the individual parts led to the discovery of several different phenomena that occur during perception.

Organization

In order to better understand how human perception works, Gestalt psychologists proposed a number of laws of perceptual organization, including the laws of similarity, Pragnanz, proximity, continuity, and closure.

Similarity

The law of similarity suggests that similar items tend to be grouped together. [2] If a number of objects in a scene are similar to one another, you will naturally group them together and perceive them as a whole. For example, a series of circles or squares stacked together will be viewed as a series of columns rather than just individual shapes.

Proximity

The law of proximity suggests that objects near each other tend to be viewed as a group.[2] If you see a number of people standing close together, for example, you might immediately assume that they are all part of the same social group.

At a restaurant, for example, the host or hostess might assume that people seated next to each other in the waiting area are together and ask if they are ready to be seated. In reality, they may only be sitting near each other because there is little room in the waiting area or because those were the only open seats.

Gestalt psychology also helped introduce the idea that human perception is not just about seeing what is actually present in the world around us. Much of what we perceive is heavily influenced by our motivations and expectations.

A Word From Very well

Gestalt psychology did face criticism, particularly in that many of its central concepts can be difficult to define and examine experimentally. While this approach may have lost its identity as an independent school of thought in psychology, its central ideas have had a major influence on the field of psychology as a whole.

Gestalt psychology has largely been subsumed by other fields of psychology, but it had an enormous influence. Other researchers who were influenced by the principles of Gestalt psychology including Kurt Lewin and Kurt Goldstein went on to make important contributions to psychology.

The idea that the whole is different than its parts has played a role in other areas including our understanding of the brain and social behavior.

Behaviorism of Psychology

Behaviorism is a theory of learning which states all behaviors are learned through interaction with the environment through a process called conditioning. Thus, behavior is simply a response to environmental stimuli. Behaviorism is only concerned with observable stimulus-response behaviors, as they can be studied in a systematic and observable manner.

The behaviorist movement began in 1913 when John Watson wrote an article entitled 'Psychology as the behaviorist views it,' which set out a number of underlying assumptions regarding methodology and behavioral analysis:

Basic Assumptions

All behavior is learned from the environment:

Behaviorism emphasizes the role of environmental factors in influencing behavior, to the near exclusion of innate or inherited factors. This amounts essentially to a focus on learning.

We learn new behavior through classical or operant conditioning (collectively known as 'learning theory').

Therefore, when born our mind is 'tabula rasa' (a blank slate).

Psychology should be seen as a science:

Theories need to be supported by empirical data obtained through careful and controlled observation and measurement of behavior. Watson (1913) stated that:

'Psychology as a behaviorist views it is a purely objective experimental branch of natural science. Its theoretical goal is … prediction and control.' (p. 158).

The components of a theory should be as simple as possible. Behaviorists propose the use of operational definitions (defining variables in terms of observable, measurable events).

Behaviorism is primarily concerned with observable behavior, as opposed to internal events like thinking and emotion:

While behaviorists often accept the existence of cognitions and emotions, they prefer not to study them as only observable (i.e., external) behavior can be objectively and scientifically measured.

Therefore, internal events, such as thinking should be explained through behavioral terms (or eliminated altogether).

There is little difference between the learning that takes place in humans and that in other animals:

There's no fundamental (qualitative) distinction between human and animal behavior. Therefore, research can be carried out on animals as well as humans (i.e., comparative psychology).

Consequently, rats and pigeons became the primary source of data for behaviorists, as their environments could be easily controlled.

Behavior is the result of stimulus-response:

All behavior, no matter how complex, can be reduced to a simple stimulus-response association). Watson described the purpose of psychology as:

'To predict, given the stimulus, what reaction will take place; or, given the reaction, state what the situation or stimulus is that has caused the reaction.' (1930, p. 11).

Types of Behaviorism

Historically, the most significant distinction between versions of behaviorism is that between Watson's original 'methodological behaviorism,' and forms of behaviorism later inspired by his work, known collectively as neobehaviorism (e.g., radical behaviorism).

Methodological Behaviorism

Watson's article *'Psychology as the behaviorist views it'* is often referred to as the 'behaviorist manifesto,' in which Watson (1913, p. 158) outlines the principles of all behaviorists:

'Psychology as the behaviorist views it is a purely objective experimental branch of natural science. Its theoretical goal is the prediction and control of behavior. Introspection forms no essential part of its methods, nor is the scientific value of its data dependent upon the readiness with which they lend themselves to interpretation in terms of consciousness.

The behaviorist, in his efforts to get a unitary scheme of animal response, recognizes no dividing line between man and brute. The behavior of man, with all of its refinement and complexity, forms only a part of the behaviorist's total scheme of investigation'.

Radical Behaviorism

Radical behaviorism was founded by B.F Skinner and agreed with the assumption of methodological behaviorism that the goal of psychology should be to predict and control behavior.

Skinner, like Watson, also recognized the role of internal mental events, and while he agreed such private events could not be used to explain behavior, he proposed they should be explained in the analysis of behavior.

Another important distinction between methodological and radical behaviorism concerns the extent to which environmental factors influence behavior. Watson's (1913) methodological behaviorism asserts the mind is tabula rasa (a blank slate) at birth.

In contrast, radical behaviorism accepts the view that organisms are born with innate behaviors, and thus recognizes the role of genes and biological components in behavior.

The History of Behaviorism

- Pavlov (1897) published the results of an experiment on conditioning after originally studying digestion in dogs.
- Watson (1913) launches the behavioral school of psychology, publishing an article, *Psychology as the behaviorist views it*.
- Watson and Rayner (1920) conditioned an orphan called Albert B (aka Little Albert) to fear a white rat.
- Thorndike (1905) formalized the *Law of Effect*.
- Skinner (1936) wrote *The Behavior of Organisms* and introduced the concepts of operant conditioning and shaping.
- Clark Hull's (1943) *Principles of Behavior* was published.
- B.F. Skinner (1948) published *Walden Two*, in which he described a utopian society founded upon behaviorist principles.
- Journal of the *Experimental Analysis of Behavior* begun in 1958.
- Chomsky (1959) published his criticism of Skinner's behaviorism, "*Review of Verbal Behavior*."

Behaviorism Summary

Basic Assumptions

Psychology should be seen as a science, to be studied in a scientific manner.

Behaviorism is primarily concerned with observable behavior, as opposed to internal events like thinking.

Behavior is the result of stimulus–response (i.e., all behavior, no matter how complex, can be reduced to a simple stimulus – response features).

Behavior is determined by the environment (e.g., conditioning, nurture).

Areas of Application

Gender Role Development

Behavioral TherapyPhobiasEducationBehavior-ModificationPsychopathologyDepression

Relationships

Moral Development

Aggression

Addiction

Strengths

The behaviorist approach provides clear predictions. This means that explanations can be scientifically tested and support with evidence.

Real life applications (e.g., therapy)

Emphasizes objective measurement

Many experiments to support theories

Identified comparisons between animals (Pavlov) and humans (Watson & Rayner - Little Albert)

Limitations

Ignores mediational processes

Ignores biology (e.g., testosterone)

Too deterministic (little free-will)

Experiments – low ecological validity

Humanism – can't compare animals to humans

Reductionist

Critical Evaluation

An obvious advantage of behaviorism is its ability to define behavior clearly and to measure changes in behavior. According to the law of parsimony, the fewer assumptions a theory makes, the better and the more credible it is. Behaviorism, therefore, looks for simple explanations of human behavior from a very scientific standpoint.

However, behaviorism only provides a partial account of human behavior, that which can be objectively viewed. Important factors like emotions, expectations, higher-level motivation are not considered or explained. Accepting a behaviorist explanation could prevent further research from other perspective that could uncover important factors.

In addition, humanism (e.g., Carl Rogers) rejects the scientific method of using experiments to measure and control variables because it creates an artificial environment and has low ecological validity.

Humanistic psychology also assumes that humans have free will (personal agency) to make their own decisions in life and do not follow the deterministic laws of science. Humanism also rejects the nomothetic approach of behaviorism as they view humans as being unique and believe humans cannot be compared with animals (who aren't susceptible to demand characteristics). This is known as an idiographic approach.

The psychodynamic approach (Freud) criticizes behaviorism as it does not take into account the unconscious mind's influence on behavior, and instead focuses on externally observable behavior. Freud also rejects the idea that people are born a blank slate (tabula rasa) and states that people are born with instincts (e.g., eros and thanatos).

Biological psychology states that all behavior has a physical/organic cause. They emphasize the role of nature over nurture. For example, chromosomes and hormones (testosterone) influence our behavior too, in addition to the environment.

Cognitive psychology states that mediational processes occur between stimulus and response, such as memory, thinking, problem-solving, etc.

Despite these criticisms, behaviorism has made significant contributions to psychology. These include insights into learning, language development, and moral and gender development, which have all been explained in terms of conditioning.

The contribution of behaviorism can be seen in some of its practical applications. Behavior therapy and behavior modification represent one of the major approaches to the treatment of abnormal behavior and are readily used in clinical psychology.

Terminology

Classical Conditioning

Classical conditioning refers to learning by association, and involves the conditioning of innate bodily reflexes with new stimui.

Stimulus

Any feature of the environment that affects behavior. E.g. in Pavlov's experiments food was a stimulus.

Response

The behavior elicited by the stimulus. E.g. in Pavlov's experiments salivation was a response.

Operant Conditioning

Operant conditioning involves learning through the consequences of behavior.

Positive Reinforcement

Presenting the subject with something that it likes. e.g., Skinner rewarded his rats with food pellets.

Negative Reinforcement

Reward – in the sense of removing or avoiding some aversive (painful) stimulus. e.g., Skinner's rats learned to press the lever in order to switch off the electric current in the cage.

Punishment

Imposing an aversive or painful stimulus. e.g., Skinner's rats were given electric shocks.

Social Learning Theory

Social Learning Theory posits that people learn from one another, via observation, imitation, and modeling.

The theory has often been called a bridge between behaviorist and cognitive learning theories because it encompasses attention, memory, and motivation.

Reductionism

Reductionism is the belief that human behavior can be explained by breaking it down into smaller component parts.

Reductionists say that the best way to understand why we behave as we do is to look closely at the very simplest parts that make up our systems, and use the simplest explanations to understand how they work.

Behaviorism reduces all behavior (no matter how complex) to stimulus-response associations.

Humanistic-existential psychotherapy

The humanistic approach was introduced in the 1940's in the United States. It can be traced to Abraham Maslow as the founding father, but through time has become closely associated with Carl Rogers. The humanistic and existential approach distinguishes itself from other therapeutic styles by including the importance of the client's subjective experience, as well as a concern for positive growth rather than pathology. Whereas the key words for humanistic

psychotherapy genuineness, empathy and unconditional positive regard, the major themes of existential therapy are the client's responsibility and freedom.

Humanistic and existential approaches share a belief that clients have the capacity for self-awareness and choice; however, they differ in their theoretical perspectives. The humanistic perspective views human nature as basically good, with a potential to maintain healthy, meaningful relationships and to make choices that are in the best interest of oneself and others.

The humanistic therapist accompanies/guides clients to free themselves from assumptions and positions that might be blocking them from living fuller lives. The psychologist encourages and highlights growth and self-actualization, while maintains that clients have an innate capacity for responsible self-direction. For the humanistic psychologist, not being one's true self is the source of problems.

The existentialist, on the other hand, is more interested in guiding/accompanying clients to find philosophical meaning while they face anxiety. This is done by exploring the importance of choosing to think and act authentically and responsibly.

According to existential psychology, the fundamental problems clients face are rooted in anxiety over isolation, loneliness, despair, and, eventually, death. The existential psychologist assumes that the clients' problems are due to not being able to use their judgment or make choices enough/well enough in order to create meaning in their lives.

When outside influences may play a role in the clients' limited ability to carry out choices, the existential psychologist and the clients will confront these influences in order to move forward.

Humanistic and Existential Therapies

Humanistic and existential psychotherapies use a wide range of approaches to case conceptualization, therapeutic goals, intervention strategies, and research methodologies. They are united by an emphasis on understanding human experience and a focus on the client rather than the symptom. Psychological problems (including substance abuse disorders) are viewed as the result of inhibited ability to make authentic, meaningful, and self-directed choices about how to live. Consequently, interventions are aimed at increasing client self-awareness and self-understanding.

Whereas the key words for humanistic therapy are *acceptance* and *growth*, the major themes of existential therapy are client *responsibility* and *freedom*. This chapter broadly defines some of the major concepts of these two therapeutic approaches and describes how they can be applied to brief therapy in the treatment of substance abuse disorders.

A short case illustrates how each theory would approach the client's issues. Many of the characteristics of these therapies have been incorporated into other therapeutic approaches such as narrative therapy.

Humanistic and existential approaches share a belief that people have the capacity for self-awareness and choice. However, the two schools come to this belief through different theories. The humanistic perspective views human nature as basically good, with an inherent potential to maintain healthy, meaningful relationships

and to make choices that are in the interest of oneself and others. The humanistic therapist focuses on helping people free themselves from disabling assumptions and attitudes so they can live fuller lives. The therapist emphasizes growth and self-actualization rather than curing diseases or alleviating disorders.

This perspective targets present conscious processes rather than unconscious processes and past causes, but like the existential approach, it holds that people have an inherent capacity for responsible self-direction. For the humanistic therapist, not being one's true self is the source of problems. The therapeutic relationship serves as a vehicle or context in which the process of psychological growth is fostered. The humanistic therapist tries to create a therapeutic relationship that is warm and accepting and that trusts that the client's inner drive is to actualize in a healthy direction.

The existentialist, on the other hand, is more interested in helping the client find philosophical meaning in the face of anxiety by choosing to think and act authentically and responsibly. According to existential therapy, the central problems people face are embedded in anxiety over loneliness, isolation, despair, and, ultimately, death.

Creativity, love, authenticity, and free will are recognized as potential avenues toward transformation, enabling people to live meaningful lives in the face of uncertainty and suffering. Everyone suffers losses (e.g., friends die, relationships end), and these losses cause anxiety because they are reminders of human limitations and inevitable death.

The existential therapist recognizes that human influence is shaped by biology, culture, and luck. Existential therapy assumes the belief

that people's problems come from not exercising choice and judgment enough--or well enough--to forge meaning in their lives, and that each individual is responsible for making meaning out of life. Outside forces, however, may contribute to the individual's limited ability to exercise choice and live a meaningful life. For the existential therapist, life is much more of a confrontation with negative internal forces than it is for the humanistic therapist.

In general, brief therapy demands the rapid formation of a therapeutic alliance compared with long-term treatment modalities. These therapies address factors shaping substance abuse disorders, such as lack of meaning in one's life, fear of death or failure, alienation from others, and spiritual emptiness. Humanistic and existential therapies penetrate at a deeper level to issues related to substance abuse disorders, often serving as a catalyst for seeking alternatives to substances to fill the void the client is experiencing.

The counselor's empathy and acceptance, as well as the insight gained by the client, contribute to the client's recovery by providing opportunities for her to make new existential choices, beginning with an informed decision to use or abstain from substances. These therapies can add for the client a dimension of self-respect, self-motivation, and self-growth that will better facilitate his treatment. Humanistic and existential therapeutic approaches may be particularly appropriate for short-term substance abuse treatment because they tend to facilitate therapeutic rapport, increase self-awareness, focus on potential inner resources, and establish the client as the person responsible for recovery.

Thus, clients may be more likely to see beyond the limitations of short-term treatment and envision recovery as a lifelong process of working to reach their full potential.

Because these approaches attempt to address the underlying factors of substance abuse disorders, they may not always directly confront substance abuse itself. Given that the substance abuse is the primary presenting problem and should remain in the foreground, these therapies are most effectively used in conjunction with more traditional treatments for substance abuse disorders. However, many of the underlying principles that have been developed to support these therapies can be applied to almost any other kind of therapy to facilitate the client-therapist relationship.

Using Humanistic and Existential Therapies

Many aspects of humanistic and existential approaches (including empathy, encouragement of affect, reflective listening, and acceptance of the client's subjective experience) are useful in any type of brief therapy session, whether it involves psychodynamic, strategic, or cognitive-behavioral therapy. They help establish rapport and provide grounds for meaningful engagement with all aspects of the treatment process.

While the approaches discussed in this chapter encompass a wide variety of therapeutic interventions, they are united by an emphasis on *lived* experience, authentic (therapeutic) relationships, and recognition of the subjective nature of human experience. There is a focus on helping the client to understand the ways in which reality is influenced by past experience, present perceptions, and expectations for the future. Schor describes the process through which our experiences assume meaning as *apperception* Becoming

aware of this process yields insight and facilitates the ability to choose new ways of being and acting.

For many clients, momentary circumstances and problems surrounding substance abuse may seem more pressing, and notions of integration, spirituality, and existential growth may be too remote from their immediate experience to be effective. In such instances, humanistic and existential approaches can help clients focus on the fact that they do, indeed, make decisions about substance abuse and are responsible for their own recovery.

Essential Skills

By their very nature, these models do not rely on a comprehensive set of techniques or procedures. Rather, the personal philosophy of the therapist must be congruent with the theoretical underpinnings associated with these approaches. The therapist must be willing and able to engage the client in a genuine and authentic fashion in order to help the client make meaningful change. Sensitivity to "teachable" or "therapeutic" moments is essential.

When To Use Brief Humanistic and Existential Therapies

These approaches can be useful at all stages of recovery in creating a foundation of respect for clients and mutual acceptance of the significance of their experiences. There are, however, some therapeutic moments that lend themselves more readily to one or more specific approaches. The details of the specific approaches are laid out later in this chapter. *Client-centered* therapy, for example, can be used immediately to establish rapport and to clarify issues throughout the session. *Existential* therapy may be used most effectively when a client is able to access emotional experiences or when obstacles must be overcome to facilitate a

client's entry into or continuation of recovery (e.g., to get someone who insists on remaining helpless to accept responsibility). *Narrative* therapy may be used to help the client conceptualize treatment as an opportunity to assume authorship and begin a "new chapter" in life. *Gestalt* approaches can also be used throughout therapy to facilitate a genuine encounter with the therapist and the client's own experience. *Transpersonal* therapy can enhance spiritual development by focusing on the intangible aspects of human experience and awareness of unrealized spiritual capacity. These approaches increase self-awareness, which promotes self-esteem and allows for more client responsibility, thus giving the client a sense of control and the opportunity to make choices. All of these approaches can be used to support the goals of therapy for substance abuse disorders.

Duration of Therapy and Frequency of Sessions

Although many aspects of these approaches are found in other therapeutic orientations, concepts like empathy, meaning, and choice lie at the very heart of humanistic and existential therapies. They are particularly valuable for brief treatment of substance abuse disorders because they increase therapeutic rapport and enhance conscious experience and acceptance of responsibility. Episodic treatment could be designed within this framework, with the treatment plan focusing on the client's tasks and experience between sessions. Humanistic and existential therapies assume that much growth and change occur outside the meetings. When focused on broader problems, these therapies can be lifelong journeys of growth and transformation. At the same time, focusing on specific substance abuse issues can provide a framework for change and more discrete goals. These techniques will also work well in conjunction with other types of therapy.

Initial Session

The opening session is extremely important in brief therapy for building an alliance, developing therapeutic rapport, and creating a climate of mutual respect. Although the approaches discussed in this chapter have different ways of addressing the client's problems, the opening session should attempt the following:

- Start to develop the alliance
- Emphasize the client's freedom of choice and potential for meaningful change
- Articulate expectations and goals of therapy (how goals are to be reached)

Developing the alliance can be undertaken through reflective listening, demonstrating respect, honesty, and openness; eliciting trust and confidence; and applying other

principles that emerge from these therapies. The therapist's authentic manner of encountering the client can set the tone for an honest, collaborative therapeutic relationship. Emphasizing freedom of choice and potential for meaningful change may be deepened by a focus on the current decision (however it has been reached) to participate in the opening session. Expectations and goals can be articulated through strategic questions or comments like, "What might be accomplished in treatment that would help you live better" or "You now face the choice of how to participate in your own substance abuse recovery."

Because of time constraints inherent in approaches to brief substance abuse treatment, the early phase of therapy is crucial. Unless the therapist succeeds in engaging the client during this

early phase, the treatment is likely to be less effective. "Engaging" includes helping the client increase motivation for other aspects of substance abuse treatment such as group therapy.

Moreover, the patterns of interaction established during the early phase tend to persist throughout therapy. The degree of motivation that the client feels after the first session is determined largely by the degree of significance experienced during the initial therapeutic encounter. A negative experience may keep a highly motivated client from coming back, whereas a positive experience may induce a poorly motivated client to recognize the potential for treatment to be helpful.

Compatibility of Humanistic And Existential Therapies and 12-Step Programs

Humanistic and existential approaches are consistent with many tenets of 12-Step programs. For example, existential and humanistic therapists would embrace the significance stressed by the "serenity prayer" to *accept* the things that cannot be changed, the *courage* to change what can be changed, and the *wisdom* to know the difference.

However, some would argue against the degree to which Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) identifies the person's "disease" as a central character trait, or the way in which some might interpret the notion of "powerlessness." The principles of existentialism, free choice, and free will may appear incompatible with the 12-Step philosophy of acceptance and surrender. Yet, such surrender must result from conscious decisions on an individual's part. The AA concept of rigorous self-assessment--of accepting one's own personal limitations and continually choosing and rechoosing to act according

to certain principles as a way of living life--are compatible with both existential and humanistic principles.

Research Orientation

The predominant research strategy or methodology in social science is rooted in the natural science or rational-empirical perspective.

Such approaches generally attempt to identify and demonstrate causal relationships by isolating specific variables while controlling for other variables such as personal differences among therapists as well as clients. For example, variations in behavior or outcomes are often quantified, measured, and subjected to statistical procedures in order to isolate the researcher from the data and ensure objectivity. Such strategies are particularly useful for investigating observable phenomena like behavior. Traditional approaches to understanding human experience and meaning,

however, have been criticized as an insufficient means to understanding the *lived* reality of human experience. Von Eckartsberg noted, "Science aims for an ideal world of dependent and independent variables in their causal interconnectedness quite abstracted and removed from personal experience of the everyday life-world" (Von Eckartsberg, 1983, p. 199). Similarly, Blewett argued, "The importance of human experience relative to behavior is beyond question for experience extends beyond behavior just as feeling extends beyond the concepts of language" (Blewett, 1969, p. 22). Thus, traditional methodological approaches seem ill-suited for understanding the meaning of human experience and the process by which self-understanding manifests itself in the context of a therapeutic relationship.

A humanistic science or qualitative approach, which has its roots in phenomenology, is claimed to be more appropriate for the complexities and nuances of understanding human experience (Giorgi, 1985). The personal and unique construction of meaning, the importance of such subtleties as "the relationship" and the "fit" in therapy, and shifts in internal states of consciousness can be quantified and measured only in the broadest of terms. A more subtle science is required to describe humans and the therapeutic process.

Rather than prediction, control, and replication of results, a humanistic science approach emphasizes understanding and description. Instead of statistical analysis of quantifiable data, it emphasizes narrative descriptions of experience. Qualitative understanding values uniqueness and diversity--the "little stories" (Lyotard, 1984)--as much as generalizability or grander explanations. Generally, this approach assumes that objectivity, such as is presumed in rational empirical methods, is illusory. For the qualitative researcher and the therapist, the goals are the same: openness to the other, active participation, and awareness of one's own subjectivity, rather than illusory objectivity. Intersubjective dialog provides a means of comparing subjective experiences in order to find commonality and divergence as well as to avoid researcher bias.

Because humanistic and existential therapies emphasize psychological process and the therapeutic relationship, alternative research strategies may be required in order to understand the necessary and sufficient conditions for therapeutic change. For example, Carl Rogers "presented a challenge to psychology to design new models of scientific investigation capable of dealing with the inner, subjective experience of the person" (Corey, 1991, p.

218). Some 50 years ago, he pioneered the use of verbatim transcripts of counseling sessions and employed audio and video taping of sessions long before such procedures became standard practice in research and supervision.

Transpersonal Therapy

Transpersonal psychology emerged as a "fourth force" in psychology in the late 1960s and has strong roots in humanistic and existential psychologies, Jungian analysis, the East-West dialog, and ancient wisdom traditions. Transpersonal therapy may be thought of as a bridge between psychological and spiritual practice.

A transpersonal approach emphasizes development of the individual beyond, but including, the ego. It acknowledges the human spiritual quest and recognizes the human striving for unity, ultimate truth, and profound freedom. It cultivates intuitive ways of knowing that complement rational and sensory modes. This approach also recognizes the potential for growth inherent in "peak" experiences and other shifts in consciousness. Although grounded in psychological theory, transpersonal practitioners also tend to incorporate perspectives from ancient wisdom traditions.

The practice of transpersonal therapy is defined more by its orientation and scope rather than by a particular set of techniques or methods (Boorstein, 1980). Wittine suggests five postulates for a transpersonal psychotherapy (Wittine, 1989):

1. Transpersonal psychotherapy is an approach to healing and growth that recognizes the centrality of the self in the therapeutic process.

2. Transpersonal psychotherapy values wholeness of being and self-realization on all levels of the spectrum of identity (i.e., egoic, existential, transpersonal).
3. Transpersonal psychotherapy is a process of awakening from a limited personal identity to expanded universal knowledge of self.
4. Transpersonal psychotherapy makes use of the healing restorative nature of subjective awareness and intuition in the process of awakening.
5. In transpersonal psychotherapy, the therapeutic relationship is a vehicle for the process of awakening in both client and therapist.

Integrating insights and practices in everyday life is the goal of every therapy. Bringing the transpersonal dimension to the forefront may involve the following:

- Exploration of "inner voices" including those of a higher self that provides guidance for growth of the individual (Rowan, 1993)
- Refinement of intuition or nonrational knowing
- Practice of creativity in "formal" (art) or informal (personal relationships) encounters
- Meditation
- Loving service
- Cultivation of mindfulness
- Use of dreams and imagery

These techniques may be taught and supported explicitly in the therapy session. At times, a therapist may directly cultivate shifts in consciousness (e.g., through meditation [Weil, 1972], or imaginal work [Johnson, 1987]), providing immediate insight and inspiration that may not be available through more conventional means (Hart, 1998). This may provide clients with a skill they can practice on their own; initiating such activity represents a potential for brief intervention.

Transpersonal therapy recognizes the need for basic psychological development to be integrated with spiritual growth (Nelson, 1994). Without such integration there is danger of "spiritual bypassing," where issues of basic psychological functioning are avoided in the name of spiritual development. In other words, the basic psychological work should be undertaken first.

Substance abuse disorders may be seen broadly as an attempt to fill a spiritual void. They may also be understood as a means for the ego to defend itself against a natural drive for growth. If growth were to occur, the ego might find its dominance relinquished. Addiction, like spirituality, also raises questions of surrender (May, 1991): for example, to what and to whom do we surrender? In a culture and a psychology that are dominated by issues of rational ego control, what is the role of constructive surrender (regularly described in spiritual traditions)? How does constructive surrender become destructive and distorted in substance dependency? In addition, substance abuse may be understood as a means for shifting out of a normal waking state of consciousness. This may be an attempt to fulfill an innate drive (Weil, 1972) for nonrational consciousness.

Response to the case study

As the existentialists remind us, there is nothing like death to rivet our attention. A glimpse of death--for example, seeing the aftermath of a serious car crash--reminds the witness of how valuable life is, bringing up other issues as well. Sandra is now confronted with death due to AIDS. This opportunity to face death and life squarely provides a chance to reconsider and reprioritize her life. In fact, it could be argued that the best catalyst to brief therapy may be a death sentence precisely because it has the potential to wake up an individual. In many respects, helping the client wake from habitual, mechanical routines that are often based on ego protection and move toward an appreciation that the individual is not bound to or defined by a limited ego, is the goal of transpersonal therapy. This can be seen as a transformation of identity.

Many inspiring instances of people facing death, including death through AIDS, have shown that emergent spirituality can change the quality and direction of existence very quickly. For treatment, the basic sharing of these experiences with a group of others in a similar predicament often quickly moves the client beyond isolation and a sense of self-separateness to connect intimately with others who understand her situation. This community may not only bring comfort and support but also a deep sense of communion with humanity. In this instance, breaking through the shell of isolation may enable Sandra to begin to make new connections with her family and with herself. A sense of interconnection, a central postulate and experience in the wisdom traditions, may replace her perceived isolation.

Sandra may use this opportunity of facing possible death to begin to encounter and let go of such feelings as guilt, shame, disappointment, and anger that have kept her life less satisfying than it could be. Accessing the imaginal through art or dreams, for

example, can provide a clear and symbolic expression of unresolved issues. The use of rituals or rites-of-passage inspired by the wisdom traditions can provide some catalyst for shifting her consciousness through forgiveness and release.

The therapist may engage in a wide variety of methods (e.g., imagery, art, or dream work, meditation, rituals), but the heart of the work is in the simple and humane spirituality that is embodied by the therapist's loving presence along with the therapist's openness to explore the full range of human experience directly. For Sandra, this experience may be seen as an opportunity for practicing love and forgiveness, moving out from behind rigid self-separateness, facing fears, and transforming her self-definition.

Unlike most forms of psychotherapy that concentrate on improving mental health, transpersonal therapy takes a more holistic approach, addressing mental, physical, social, emotional, creative, and intellectual needs, with an emphasis on the role of a healthy spirit in healing. To facilitate healing and growth, transpersonal therapy places great emphasis on honesty, open-mindedness, and self-awareness on the part of the therapist as well as the client.

When It’s Used

Transpersonal therapy is used to treat anxiety, depression, addictions, phobias, and other mood and behavioral problems. Those who are open to exploring their spiritual side, becoming more spiritually aware, or finding a spiritual path, or who are having trouble finding meaning in their life, may benefit from transpersonal therapy.

What to Expect

Transpersonal therapists use meditation, guided visualization, hypnotherapy, dream work, art, music,
journaling, mindfulness practices, and other techniques that can help you explore your spiritual self and create meaning in your life. With the therapist's guidance, you will find, build, and expand on your inner strengths and resources to create a more balanced life and a healthier state of mind.

How It Works

Transpersonal therapy is a holistic healing intervention that evolved from the humanistic work of American psychologist Abraham Maslow in the 1960s. It integrates traditional spiritual rituals into modern psychology and emphasizes positive influences and role models rather than concentrating on negative experiences. This intervention is based on the idea that humans are more than mind and body but are also composed of intangible, or transcendent, factors that make up the whole person. Just as your mind and body sometimes require treatment, your spirituality and other intangible aspects of yourself often require healing of a sort.

A transpersonal therapist may draw from a variety of different religions and spiritual practices for tools and methods that can help you explore various levels of consciousness and use your spirituality to guide you through troubled times.

What to Look for in a Transpersonal Therapist

Look for an experienced licensed or certified counselor, psychotherapist, or other mental health professional with additional training in holistic forms of healing and one or more spiritual pathways. In addition to these credentials, it is important to find a therapist with whom you feel comfortable working.

Cognitive revolution in Psychology

Behaviorism and the Cognitive Revolution

Behaviorism's emphasis on objectivity and focus on external behavior had pulled psychologists' attention away from the mind for a prolonged period of time. The early work of the humanistic psychologists redirected attention to the individual human as a whole, and as a conscious and self-aware being. By the 1950s, new disciplinary perspectives in linguistics, neuroscience, and computer science were emerging, and these areas revived interest in the mind as a focus of scientific inquiry. This particular perspective has come to be known as the cognitive revolution (Miller, 2003). By 1967, Ulric Neisser published the first textbook entitled *Cognitive Psychology*, which served as a core text in cognitive psychology courses around the country (Thorne & Henley, 2005).

Although no one person is entirely responsible for starting the cognitive revolution, Noam Chomsky was very influential in the early days of this movement. Chomsky (1928–), an American linguist, was dissatisfied with the influence that behaviorism had had on psychology. He believed that psychology's focus on behavior was short-sighted and that the field had to re-incorporate mental functioning into its purview if it were to offer any meaningful contributions to understanding behavior (Miller, 2003).

European psychology had never really been as influenced by behaviorism as had American psychology; and thus, the cognitive revolution helped reestablish lines of communication between European psychologists and their American counterparts. Furthermore, psychologists began to cooperate with scientists in other fields, like anthropology, linguistics, computer science, and neuroscience, among others. This interdisciplinary approach often

was referred to as the cognitive sciences, and the influence and prominence of this particular perspective resonates in modern-day psychology (Miller, 2003).

Cognitive Psychology

Cognitive psychology is radically different from previous psychological approaches in that it is characterized by *both* of the following:

1. It accepts the use of the scientific method and generally rejects introspection as a valid method of investigation, unlike phenomenological methods such as Freudian psychoanalysis.
2. It explicitly acknowledges the existence of internal mental states (such as belief, desire, and motivation), unlike behaviorist psychology.

Cognitive theory contends that solutions to problems take the form of algorithms, heuristics, or insights. Major areas of research in cognitive psychology include perception, memory, categorization, knowledge representation, numerical cognition, language, and thinking.

Multicultural Psychology

Culture has important impacts on individuals and social psychology, yet the effects of culture on psychology are under-studied. There is a risk that psychological theories and data derived from white, American settings could be assumed to apply to individuals and social groups from other cultures and this is unlikely to be true (Betancourt & López, 1993). One weakness in the field of cross-cultural psychology is that in looking for differences in psychological attributes across cultures, there remains a need to go beyond

simple descriptive statistics (Betancourt & López, 1993). In this sense, it has remained a descriptive science, rather than one seeking to determine cause and effect. For example, a study of characteristics of individuals seeking treatment for a binge eating disorder in Hispanic American, African American, and Caucasian American individuals found significant differences between groups (Franko et al., 2012). The study concluded that results from studying any one of the groups could not be extended to the other groups, and yet potential causes of the differences were not measured.

This history of multicultural psychology in the United States is a long one. The role of African American psychologists in researching the cultural differences between African American individual and social psychology is but one example. In 1920, Cecil Sumner was the first African American to receive a PhD in psychology in the United States. Sumner established a psychology degree program at Howard University, leading to the education of a new generation of African American psychologists (Black, Spence, and Omari, 2004). Much of the work of early African American psychologists (and a general focus of much work in first half of the 20th century in psychology in the United States) was dedicated to testing and intelligence testing in particular (Black et al., 2004). That emphasis has continued, particularly because of the importance of testing in determining opportunities for children, but other areas of exploration in African-American psychology research include learning style, sense of community and belonging, and spiritualism (Black et al., 2004).

The American Psychological Association has several ethnically based organizations for professional psychologists that facilitate interactions among members. Many psychologists who identify with

specific ethnic groups or cultures are most interested in studying the psychology of their communities. These organizations play an important role in supporting research and treatment in the communities they serve and are building a more comprehensive understanding of the psychological impact that race, ethnicity, and systems of oppression have upon individuals and communities.

Summary of the History of Psychology

Before the time of Wundt and James, questions about the mind were considered by philosophers. However, both Wundt and James helped create psychology as a distinct scientific discipline. Wundt was a *structuralist*, which meant he believed that our cognitive experience was best understood by breaking that experience into its component parts. He thought this was best accomplished by introspection.

William James was the first American psychologist, and he was a proponent of *functionalism*. This particular perspective focused on how mental activities served as adaptive responses to an organism's environment. Like Wundt, James also relied on introspection; however, his research approach also incorporated more objective measures as well.

Sigmund Freud believed that understanding the unconscious mind was absolutely critical to understand conscious behavior. This was especially true for individuals that he saw who suffered from various hysterias and neuroses. Freud relied on dream analysis, slips of the tongue, and free association as means to access the unconscious. Psychoanalytic theory remained a dominant force in clinical psychology for several decades.

Gestalt psychology was very influential in Europe. Gestalt psychology takes a holistic view of an individual and his experiences. As the Nazis came to power in Germany, Wertheimer, Koffka, and Köhler immigrated to the United States. Although they left their laboratories and their research behind, they did introduce America to Gestalt ideas. Some of the principles of Gestalt psychology are still very influential in the study of sensation and perception.

One of the most influential schools of thought within psychology's history was behaviorism. Behaviorism focused on making psychology an objective science by studying overt behavior and deemphasizing the importance of unobservable mental processes. John Watson is often considered the father of behaviorism, and B. F. Skinner's contributions to our understanding of principles of operant conditioning cannot be underestimated.

As behaviorism and psychoanalytic theory took hold of so many aspects of psychology, some began to become dissatisfied with psychology's picture of human nature. Thus, a humanistic movement within psychology began to take hold. Humanism focuses on the potential of all people for good. Both Maslow and Rogers were influential in shaping humanistic psychology.

During the 1950s, the landscape of psychology began to change. A science of behavior began to shift back to its roots of focus on mental processes. The emergence of neuroscience and computer science aided this transition. Ultimately, the cognitive revolution took hold, and people came to realize that cognition was crucial to a true appreciation and understanding of behavior.

What is Four founding paths of academic psychology - Wundt, Freud, James, Dilthey. Issues: Crisis in psychology due to strict adherence to experimental-analytical paradigm (logical empiricism). Indic influences on modern psychology ?

Four founding paths of academic psychology - Wundt, Freud, James, Dilthey. Issues: Crisis in psychology due to strict adherence to experimental-analytical paradigm (logical empiricism). Indic influences on modern psychology

Four founding paths of academic psychology - Wundt, Freud, James, Dilthey

Wilhelm Wundt psychology

Wilhelm Wundt opened the Institute for Experimental Psychology at the University of Leipzig in Germany in 1879. This was the first laboratory dedicated to psychology, and its opening is usually thought of as the beginning of modern psychology. Indeed, Wundt is often regarded as the father of psychology.

Wundt was important because he separated psychology from philosophy by analyzing the workings of the mind in a more

structured way, with the emphasis being on objective measurement and control.

This laboratory became a focus for those with a serious interest in psychology, first for German philosophers and psychology students, then for American and British students as well. All subsequent psychological laboratories were closely modeled in their early years on the Wundt model.

Wundt's background was in physiology, and this was reflected in the topics with which the Institute was concerned, such as the study of reaction times and sensory processes and attention. For example, participants would be exposed to a standard stimulus (e.g. a light or the sound of a metronome) and asked to report their sensations.

Wundt's aim was to record thoughts and sensations, and to analyze them into their constituent elements, in much the same way as a chemist analyses chemical compounds, in order to get at the underlying structure. The school of psychology founded by Wundt is known as voluntarism, the process of organizing the mind.

During his academic career Wundt trained 186 graduate students (116 in psychology). This is significant as it helped disseminate his work. Indeed, parts of Wundt's theory were developed and promoted by his one-time student, Edward Titchener, who described his system as Structuralism, or the analysis of the basic elements that constitute the mind.

Wundt wanted to study the structure of the human mind (using introspection). Wundt believed in reductionism. That is, he believed consciousness could be broken down (or reduced) to its basic elements without sacrificing any of the properties of the whole.

Wundt argued that conscious mental states could be scientifically studied using introspection. Wundt's introspection was not a causal affair, but a highly practiced form of self-examination. He trained psychology students to make observations that were biased by personal interpretation or previous experience, and used the results to develop a theory of conscious thought.

Highly trained assistants would be given a stimulus such as a ticking metronome and would reflect on the experience. They would report what the stimulus made them think and feel. The same stimulus, physical surroundings and instructions were given to each person.

Wundt's method of introspection did not remain a fundamental tool of psychological experimentation past the early 1920's. His greatest contribution was to show that psychology could be a valid experimental science.

Therefore, one way Wundt contributed to the development of psychology was to do his research in carefully controlled conditions, i.e. experimental methods. This encouraged other researchers such as the behaviorists to follow the same experimental approach and be more scientific. However, today psychologists (e.g. Skinner) argue that introspection was not really scientific even if the methods used to introspect were. Skinner claims the results of introspection are subjective and cannot be verified because only observable behavior can be objectively measured.

Wundt concentrated on three areas of mental functioning; thoughts, images and feelings. some of these areas are still studied in cognitive psychology today. This means that the study of perceptual processes can be traced back to Wundt. Wundt's work stimulated interest in cognitive psychology.

On the basis of his work, and the influence it had on psychologists who were to follow him, Wundt can be regarded as the founder of experimental psychology, so securing his place in the history of psychology. At the same time, Wundt himself believed that the experimental approach was limited in scope, and that other methods would be necessary if all aspects of human psychology were to be investigated.

Freud Psychology

Sigmund Freud (1856 to 1939) was the founding father of psychoanalysis, a method for treating mental illness and also a theory which explains human behavior.

Freud believed that events in our childhood have a great influence on our adult lives, shaping our personality. For example, anxiety originating from traumatic experiences in a person's past is hidden from consciousness, and may cause problems during adulthood (in the form of neuroses).

Thus, when we explain our behavior to ourselves or others (conscious mental activity), we rarely give a true account of our motivation. This is not because we are deliberately lying. While human beings are great deceivers of others; they are even more adept at self-deception.

Freud's life work was dominated by his attempts to find ways of penetrating this often subtle and elaborate camouflage that obscures the hidden structure and processes of personality.

His lexicon has become embedded within the vocabulary of Western society. Words he introduced through his theories are now used by everyday people, such as anal (personality), libido, denial, repression, cathartic, Freudian slip, and neurotic.

The Case of Anna O

The case of Anna O (real name Bertha Pappenheim) marked a turning point in the career of a young Viennese neuropathologist by the name of Sigmund Freud. It even went on to influence the future direction of psychology as a whole.

Anna O. suffered from hysteria, a condition in which the patient exhibits physical symptoms (e.g., paralysis, convulsions, hallucinations, loss of speech) without an apparent physical cause. Her doctor (and Freud's teacher) Josef Breuer succeeded in treating Anna by helping her to recall forgotten memories of traumatic events.

During discussions with her, it became apparent that she had developed a fear of drinking when a dog she hated drank from her glass. Her other symptoms originated when caring for her sick father.

She would not express her anxiety for her his illness but did express it later, during psychoanalysis. As soon as she had the opportunity to make these unconscious thoughts conscious her paralysis disappeared.

Breuer discussed the case with his friend Freud. Out of these discussions came the germ of an idea that Freud was to pursue for the rest of his life. In *Studies in Hysteria* (1895) Freud proposed that physical symptoms are often the surface manifestations of deeply repressed conflicts.

However, Freud was not just advancing an explanation of a particular illness. Implicitly he was proposing a revolutionary new theory of the human psyche itself.

This theory emerged “bit by bit” as a result of Freud’s clinical investigations, and it led him to propose that there were at least three levels of the mind.

The Unconscious Mind

Freud (1900, 1905) developed a topographical model of the mind, whereby he described the features of the mind’s structure and function. Freud used the analogy of an iceberg to describe the three levels of the mind.

On the surface is consciousness, which consists of those thoughts that are the focus of our attention now, and this is seen as the tip of the iceberg. The preconscious consists of all which can be retrieved from memory.

The third and most significant region is the unconscious. Here lie the processes that are the real cause of most behavior. Like an iceberg, the most important part of the mind is the part you cannot see.

The unconscious mind acts as a repository, a ‘cauldron’ of primitive wishes and impulse kept at bay and mediated by the preconscious area.

For example, Freud (1915) found that some events and desires were often too frightening or painful for his patients to acknowledge, and believed such information was locked away in the unconscious mind. This can happen through the process of repression.

Sigmund Freud emphasized the importance of the unconscious mind, and a primary assumption of Freudian theory is that the unconscious mind governs behavior to a greater degree than

people suspect. Indeed, the goal of psychoanalysis is to make the unconscious conscious.

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Psychosexual Stages

In the highly repressive “Victorian” society in which Freud lived and worked women, in particular, were forced to repress their sexual needs. In many cases, the result was some form of neurotic illness.

Freud sought to understand the nature and variety of these illnesses by retracing the sexual history of his patients. This was not primarily an investigation of sexual experiences as such. Far more important were the patient’s wishes and desires, their experience of love,

hate, shame, guilt and fear – and how they handled these powerful emotions.

It was this that led to the most controversial part of Freud's work – his theory of psychosexual development and the Oedipus complex.

Freud believed that children are born with a libido – a sexual (pleasure) urge. There are a number of stages of childhood, during which the child seeks pleasure from a different 'object.'

Dream Analysis

Freud (1900) considered dreams to be the *royal road to the unconscious* as it is in dreams that the ego's defenses are lowered so that some of the repressed material comes through to awareness, albeit in distorted form. Dreams perform important functions for the unconscious mind and serve as valuable clues to how the unconscious mind operates.

On 24 July 1895, Freud had his own dream that was to form the basis of his theory. He had been worried about a patient, Irma, who was not doing as well in treatment as he had hoped. Freud, in fact, blamed himself for this, and was feeling guilty.

James Psychology

William James was a psychologist and philosopher who had a major influence on the development of psychology in the United States. Among his many accomplishments, he was the first to teach a psychology course in the U.S. and is often referred to as the father of American psychology.

James was also known for contributing to functionalism, one of the earliest schools of thought in psychology. His book *The Principles of Psychology* is considered one of the most classic and influential

texts in psychology's history. He was also the brother of the noted writer Henry James and diarist Alice James.

"The art of being wise is the art of knowing what to overlook," William James once wrote.[1] Learn more about his life, career, ideas, and contributions to psychology in this brief biography.

He was often called the father of American psychology and is best known for:

- Functionalism
- James Lange Theory of Emotion
- Pragmatism

William James' Early Life

William James was born into an affluent family. His father was deeply interested in philosophy and theology and strove to provide his children with an enriched education.

The James children traveled to Europe frequently, attended the best possible schools, and were immersed in culture and art, which apparently paid off - William James went on to become one of the most important figures in psychology while his brother Henry James became one of the most acclaimed American novelists.

Henry James was the author of several acclaimed works, including *The Portrait of a Lady* and *The Ambassadors*.

Early in school, William James expressed an interest in becoming a painter. While Henry James Sr. was known as an unusually permissive and liberal father, he wanted William to study science or philosophy. Only after William persisted in his interest did Henry permit his son to formally study painting.

After studying painting with the famed artist William Morris Hunt for more than a year, James abandoned his dream of being a painter and enrolled at Harvard to study chemistry. While two of James' brothers enlisted to serve in the American Civil War, William and Henry did not due to health problems.

Timeline of Events

- Born January 11, 1842 in New York City
- 1869 - Received M.D. from Harvard
- 1875 - Began teaching psychology at Harvard
- 1882 - Death of William's father, Henry James Sr.
- 1890 - Published *The Principles of Psychology*
- 1892 - Turned lab over to Hugo Munsterberg
- 1897 - Published *Will to Believe and Other Essays*
- 1907 - Published *Pragmatism* and officially resigned from Harvard
- Died August 26, 1910, at the age of 68

The Career of William James

As the family money began to dwindle, William realized he would need to support himself and switched to Harvard Medical School. Unhappy with medicine as well, he left on an expedition with naturalist Louis Agassiz, although the experience was not a happy one.

"I was, body and soul, in a more indescribably hopeless, homeless, and friendless state than I ever want to be in again," he later wrote.[2]

Developing health problems and severe depression, James spent the next two years in France and Germany. This period played an important role in shifting his interest in psychology and philosophy.

After graduating from Harvard Medical School in 1869, James continued to sink into depression. Following a period of inactivity, the president of Harvard offered James a position as an instructor of comparative physiology in 1872. Three years later, James began teaching psychology courses.

While he famously commented that "the first lecture on psychology I ever heard being the first I ever gave," James went on to teach at Harvard until 1907. In addition to his other important contributions, James helped shape the course of psychology by teaching the many students that passed through his classroom.

James also founded one of the first psychology laboratories in the United States. His classic textbook *The Principles of Psychology* (1890) was widely acclaimed, but some were critical of James' personal, literary tone. "It is literature," psychologist Wilhelm Wundt famously commented, "it is beautiful, but it is not psychology."[3]

Two years later, James published a condensed version of the work titled *Psychology: The Briefer Course*. The two books were widely used by students of psychology and were known to most as "the James" and "the Jimmy" respectively.[4]

James Williams' Theories

James' theoretical contributions to psychology include the following:

- **Functionalism**: James opposed the structuralist focus on introspection and breaking down mental events to the

smallest elements. Instead, James focused on the wholeness of an event, taking into the impact of the environment on behavior.[5]

- **James-Lange Theory of Emotion**: The James-Lange theory of emotion proposes that an event triggers a physiological reaction, which we then interpret.[6] According to this theory, emotions are caused by our interpretations of these physiological reactions. Both James and the Danish physiologist Carl Lange independently proposed the theory.
- **Pragmatism**: James wrote extensively on the concept of pragmatism. According to pragmatism, the truth of an idea can never be proven.[7] James proposed we instead focus on what he called the "cash value," or usefulness, of an idea.

William James' Influence on Psychology

In addition to his enormous influence, many of James' students went on to have prosperous and influential careers in psychology. Some of James' students included Mary Whiton Calkins, Edward Thorndike, and G. Stanley Hall.

Dilthey Psychology

1. If one wants to see a kind of psychology which Dilthey would regard as explanative and based on incorrect assumptions about the nature of the human *psyché*, I suggest Jerry Fodor's "Methodological Solipsism Considered as a Research Strategy in Cognitive Psychology", in Dreyfus, Hubert, and Hall, Harrison, (eds.), *Husserl, Intentionality and Cognitive Science*, Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1982, pp.277-303. This article

illustrates very well the kind of faculty psychology which Dilthey dislikes. It also well illustrates the 'synthetic' approach which Dilthey attributes to explanative psychology, namely, the identification of elementary psychological entities, in Fodor's case, mental representations and modules for processing the same and then the synthesis of these elements and modules into a merely causally interrelated whole which is supposed to provide a model of such and such a psychological process, e.g., cognition, perception and the like.

2. For two instructive accounts of naturalism, see the articles on naturalism in *The Blackwell Companion to Metaphysics* and the *Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*.

3. In these notes, I occasionally refer to Dilthey's text simply as *Ideas*.

Dilthey's *Ideas concerning a Descriptive and Analytic Psychology*—Chapters One and Two

It is common to divide Dilthey's views on the need for, and nature of, a grounding of the so-called human studies into two periods, a 'psychological' one extending through the 1880's up to just before the turn of the century, and a more 'hermeneutic' one from, say, 1900 onwards. This distinction appears to me to be at best artificial although it is certainly true that around 1900 or slightly before Dilthey did move from talking about the fundamental method and approach of the human studies as descriptively psychological to hermeneutic. This reflects, I think, an appreciation on Dilthey's part that by and large the human studies investigate domains of human reality which, due to differences in culture and tradition, or perhaps the passage of time, are no longer readily accessible. Thus, it is wrong to assume that the kind of activity which the student of

human affair engages in when studying different or past cultures is just an extension to new domains of an ability to understand others, their actions and their works which we exercise in everyday life. Because wherever there is distance and difference, human reality is not effortlessly intelligible, the understanding displayed by the human studies is not just a reflective, more explicit version of what we do in unproblematic everyday contexts. A genuinely *hermeneutic* effort is needed; the people, the cultures or the acts one is studying are so to speak broken texts whose meaning is not directly accessible; it must rather be discerned in the vehicles which express them in a manner not strictly comparable to how we effortlessly understand one another in everyday contexts. Talk of the method and approach of the human studies as descriptive obscures this difference entirely.

At the same time, it would be wrong to exaggerate the difference between Dilthey's so-called 'psychological' and his 'hermeneutic' periods. Much is preserved, in particular, his central terminoloy of the 'psychological' or 'psychical nexus' (psychischer Zusammenhang) and the holistic account of socio-cultural reality that goes with this term of art. In the next set of notes, I will start unpacking some of the things Dilthey says in the first two chapters of his "Ideas concerning a Descriptive and Analytic Psychology." This text was written in 1894 and thus belongs to his 'psychological' period. The first chapter is entitled "The Task of a Psychological Grounding of the Human Studies", the second, "The Distinction between Explanative and Descriptive Psychology". In particular, I want to concentrate on pp.138-150 of Chapter I and the whole of chapter II, which is quite short, namely, pp.154-158. In order, however, to understand properly what Dilthey is on about in these

opening chapters, a few rough observations on the history of psychology are necessary.

Very roughly, one can distinguish two strands and attitudes within contemporary psychology. On the one side there is, to appropriate a distinction from William James, a tender-minded kind of psychology: this is the kind of psychology we associate with the names of Freud, Jung, Binswanger, Klein, Fromm, R.D.

Laing and numerous others. It is often clinically and therapeutically oriented and in its theoretical accounts of its clinical and therapeutic methods it often, if not always and not always unambiguously, spurns any suggestion that it is a *natural* science at all, much less a natural science which could take physics as its model. On the other side there is the tough-minded kind of psychology, e.g., cognitive psychology, some brands of development psychology, the psychology of perception, and so on. This kind of psychology very often bumptiously proclaims its status as a natural science. Some prominent recent and contemporary representatives are Karmiloff-Smith, Smolenksy, Rumelhart, McClelland and many others.

We need to keep these two strands strictly apart in attempting to understand Dilthey. Although it has many roots and sources in the tradition of Romantic and philosophical psychology which was eventually eclipsed by the hard-nosed variety, the tender-minded variety of psychology strand is actually the younger. For it arose out of traditions of opposition to the general conceptions underlying the natural scientifically oriented brand.

This latter brand in fact arose during Dilthey's life, and it is this brand of psychology which Dilthey has in mind when he speaks of 'erklärende Psychologie', i.e., 'explanatory' or 'explanative' psychology.

In Dilthey's time, psychology in this natural scientifically oriented sense was just starting to assert itself. One of the first people to articulate the idea of a natural scientifically oriented 'explanatory' psychology was Kant´s successor at Königsberg, Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841).

Although he insisted that in psychology one still needed a number of indispensable metaphysical presuppositions, in particular, in order to account for the unity of psychological phenomena and the particular way they change, he insisted that one could have a 'physics of the mind' („Physik des Geistes") which utilised mathematical and quantitative techniques, thereby enably psychology to constitute itself as a genuine science. Herbart´s followers, e.g., Waitz (1821-1864) und Drobisch (1802-1896), In these notes I was unable to discuss the third fundamental characteristic, namely, the human propensity to regard certain kinds of action as not just wise or unwise, but morally right or wrong.

elaborated on these ideas unlike by the mid-century numerous thinkers were claiming that psychology had to be done as an independent, empirical discipline, without any debt to, or baggage from, traditional philosophy and metaphysics. Mid-nineteenth century scientists, doctors and philosophers like Wundt (1832-1920), Helmholtz and Fechner (1801-1887) set about establishing a psychology whose model was physics and which conceived its object of study as neither made of immaterial substance, nor identical with the human soul.

Psychology thus conceived was to be neutral about these kinds of issue, although of course the more it succeeded in cognising psychological phenomena without having to talk about immaterial

substances or of souls, the less plausible it made these doctrines. (Something similar applies in the case of physics and God.)

Dilthey identifies a number of contemporary traditions and individual thinkers as the first advocates of this idea of an independent, natural scientifically oriented psychology which takes physics as its model, hence similarly aims to exploit experimental and mathematical techniques. In this connection, he mentions

1) the tradition of associationist psychology, which stems from the British empiricists Locke, Berkeley and Hume;

2) Herbart (1776-1841), who has already been mentioned;

3) Friedrich Albert Lange (1828-1875), the early Neokantian author of the very influential book *Geschichte des Materialismus* (*The History of Materialism*); and

4) the English psychologist Herbert Spencer and Taine. A natural scientifically oriented psychology conceives its task as that of identifying the constituent elements, causal laws and mechanisms of psychological phenomena, just as physics identifies constituent elements, causal laws and mechanisms of physical phenomena.

Identification of the fundamental elements of things and of how these fundamental elements interact causally to produce certain kinds of phenomenon is what Dilthey means by the *explanation* of such phenomena. A science which aims to explain in this sense is precisely an explanatory or explanative science.

As Dilthey puts it, “(u)nter einer erklärenden Wissenschaft ist jede Unterordnung eines Erscheinungsgebietes unter einen Kausalzusammenhang vermittels einer begrenzten Zahl von eindeutig bestimmten Elementen (d.h. Bestandteilen des

Zusammenhangs) zu verstehen." (S.139) It should be noted that while such explanative science and the explanations it comes up with may very well and perhaps even ideally take mathematical form, this is not necessary. Many natural scientific explanations, from contemporary explanations of the origin of the universe to genetic explanations of hereditary disease are strictly qualitative, even though they may involve much calculation around the edges.

Dilthey points out that explanative psychology in this sense works essentially with hypotheses. Insofar as to form a hypothesis is to formulate a general proposition hopefully valid for all cases on the basis of a limited number of cases, there is nothing to object to this. But, says Dilthey, the formulation of hypotheses has acquired a more definite, specific sense in natural scientific contexts, and thus in all disciplines which, like explanative psychology, seek to model themselves on natural sciences. According to Dilthey, we do not experience the causal interconnectedness of things, but only their temporal succession. When a flame causes water to boil, I see the flame burning in close proximity to the kettle, and I also see the water boiling in the kettle. I do not, however, see in addition to these two events any further event of the flame's causing the water to boil. In order to establish that a causal connection exists between these two events, I must test out the *hypothesis* that such a connection exists by putting kettles on flames a number of times. I will then have a highly probable degree of certainty that a causal connection exists. (S.140-141)

But, ask Dilthey, can this approach be transferred across to our psychological life? (S.142) That the representatives of an explanative psychology do intend such a transferral, and that there are a number of points at which this idea is problematic, are things Dilthey wants to show in the course of this work. We can, or so

Dilthey seems to suggest, get a better preliminary understanding of what it means thus to conceive psychology on the model of natural science, and where this idea goes wrong by appreciating the following: in contemporary explanative psychology we do indeed find, as a matter of fact, *lots* of hypotheses. Unfortunately, this is an embarrassment of riches: “Ein Kampf aller gegen alle tobt auf ihrem Gebiete nicht minder heftig als auf dem Felde der Metaphysik. Noch ist nirgends am fernsten Horizonte etwas sichtbar, was diesen Kampf zu entscheiden die Kraft haben möchte.” (S.142) Dilthey seems to be voicing about contemporary explanative psychology much the same sentiment that Kant voiced about traditional metaphysics: “… (s)o far … are the students of metaphysics from exhibiting any kind of unanimity in their contentions, that metaphysics has rather to be regarded as a battle-ground … in which no participant has ever yet succeeded in gaining even so much as an inch of territory, not at least in such manner as to secure him in its permanent possession.”

Given the subsequent development of explanative psychology, indeed, of any kind of psychology, Dilthey is making a quite valid point. Since the rise of explanative and experimental psychology in the late nineteenth century, there have been a succession of attempts to establish psychology on the same kind of sure footing which physics, in particular through Sir Isaac Newton, was able to establish itself.

Newton’s mechanics provided a research framework for future scientists which lasted approximately 250 years. And in a certain sense Newton’s work has not been superseded, even today: most standard engineering and technological work utilises classical mechanics, indeed, classical mechanics are often used in the design of experimental apparatus and instruments used in

theoretical physics of a quite high-powered kind. Finally, many people regard Newton's theory as just a special case of which Einstein provided the more general theory.

Nothing like this has occurred in psychology. Initially, in the late nineteenth century there was associationist psychology which derived from classical empiricism and was often highly introspectionist in nature. That is, it was quite happy to maintain that psychological data and even laws could be discovered by the psychologist's observing how he or she experienced things. Such observation of one's own mental life was known as 'inner perception', something of which Dilthey himself makes much mention.

But in the late nineteenth century, psychologists began calling introspection into question, denying that it provided the kind of empirical data a natural scientifically oriented psychology could profitably use. The point was not, or not just, that the observations one made about what went on in one's own breast were no more reliable and infallible than ordinary observation of external things. The point was rather that not matter how reliable or infallible such data were, they were of limited use in experimental, explanative psychology.

The aim of such a psychology is to establish the various mechanisms and lawful connections whereby physical things out there cause psychological phenomena 'in the mind'; and conversely, things 'in the mind' cause things to happen in the physical world. About these mechanisms and laws very little knowledge is gained by introspection. What is needed is experimentation from a third-person, non-introspectionist point of view—experimentation involving diverse test subjects which would

seek to correlate their introspective reports of their psychological states and events with observations made by the experimenter of various physical and physiological facts, events and changes.

Eventually, this hostility to introspection went so far that one did not merely deny that it could establish anything of scientific interest. One increasingly began to declare that the phenomena allegedly introspected did not really exist. At least from the standpoint of the natural scientifically oriented psychologist one could regard the entities talked about in introspective reports, e.g., colour sensations, feelings, perceptions, beliefs, desires, intentions and the like as entities postulated by a bad or false theory, and thus with precisely the same status as witches and fairies. This hostility to what had traditionally been understood by psychological phenomena gather pace during the late nineteenth century, culminating in the first decades of the twentieth century in the movement known as behaviourism. (The canonical text of this movement was J.B. Watson's book *Behaviourism*, which appeared in 1912.) This was a kind of experimental, natural scientific psychology which tried to do without any talk of mental or psychological entites, except in a behavioural sense. If beliefs, desires, intentions and the like existed at all, then only as dispositions to behave: to say that I believe that it is raining is simply to say that I will tend to do such things as put on my raincoat, open up an umbrella, or put my newspaper over my head, etc., before I go outside.

Although behaviorism received some competition from the so-called Gestalt psychologists, it was the dominant school of psychology at least in Anglo-american countries for many decades. But by the fifties it was quite clear to most people that behaviourism was not the promised equivalent to Newtonian mechanics, that foundation which would allow a scientific psychology to march relentless

forward for hundreds of years. So people began looking for a completely new approach. By the late fifties, if not earlier, psychologists and philosophers of psychology believed they have found the new approach. They began to re-invent the mental—but only because the model of the computer suggested how one could acknowledge the mental ad important elements in a scientific psychology without lapsing back into unscientific introspectionism. Thinking was like the running of a computer programme, beliefs like the stored information used by the programme and desires the various objectives the programme served. The task of scientific psychology was thus to come up with models of the programmes we humans run when thinking and acting. Psychology thus conceived is known as functionalism, or more accurately, as computationalism, which is one way of spelling out the idea that beliefs, desires, perceptions are mental functions, i.e., neuro-physiological configurations with certain properties to change, and be changed by, other such configurations. (Analogously, when a computer is running a certain programme, its hardware is configured to respond and interact in certain ways.)

Unfortunately, various problems with this conception have arisen. The computationalist attempt to spell out the general functionalist idea has not delivered the long-awaited foundation for the sure march forward of psychological and in particular, of cognitive science, which is of course the psychology of cognition and perception. Enthusiasm for it is thus waning and now the latest fashion is the idea of neural networks and, more latterly, the idea that the human psyché can be modelled scientifically by conceiving it as a non-linear dynamical system.

So Dilthey is quite right, indeed prescient, in his observation that there is in psychology a situation not unlike that in what it

particularly despises, namely, metaphysics. That there is indeed this situation is indeed something of which many natural scientifically oriented psychologists show themselves to be painfully aware. Just like so many economists, many psychologists protest over and over again that what they are doing is 'science'. Contrast this to the much more relaxed attitude of many contemporary physicists, who are rightly quite sure that physics, whatever it is, is a huge success, who thus do not feel any need to defend the status of physics as a science (or anything else).

Dilthey gives his own example of a fundamental hypothesis which he regards as subject to endless, undecidable controversy. This is appears to be the standard reductive materialist hypothesis that psychological facts and events are caused in law-like ways by physical and physiological facts and events, and are indeed reducible to these latter. (I take it by speaking of "die Zurückführung aller Bewußtseinserscheinungen auf atomartig vorgestellte Elemente, welche in gesetzlichen Verhältnissen auf einander wirken …" (S.142-143), Dilthey does intend not merely an epiphenomenalism, but a genuine reductionism.)

Dilthey points out that proponents of explanative psychology like to defend their making of such hypotheses by appeal to the natural sciences, by which Dilthey of course means physics and chemistry (see S.139). But I think he is trying to say that this begs the crucial question of whether psychology may in fact such natural sciences as its model. If the answer to this question is 'Yes', then certainly this characteristic defence is sufficient; one may indeed respond that, as the experience and history of the natural sciences show, we may have every confidence that the *current* controversial character of this hypothesis will, by further work and experiment, be overcome. But until this question has been answered affirmatively,

one may just as legitimately take the long-standing controversial character of such hypotheses as indicating that something is wrong in one's conception of what psychology is and thus what it may take as its model.

Issues: Crisis in psychology due to strict adherence to experimental-analytical paradigm (logical empiricism)

This article looks at the main symptoms of the crisis in psychology. The author believes that in addition to the traditional manifestations that have dogged psychology since it emerged as an independent science, there have appeared some new symptoms. The author identifies three fundamental "ruptures": "vertical" ruptures between various schools and trends, "horizontal" ruptures between natural science and humanitarian psychology and "diagonal" ruptures between research (academic) and practical psychology. In the author's opinion, these manifestations of the crisis of psychology have recently been compounded by the crisis of its rationalistic foundations. This situation is described in terms of the cognitive systems in psychology which include:

1) meta-theories;

2) paradigms;

3) sociodigms and

4) metadigms.

Permanent crisis

One of the key features of the methodological self-consciousness of psychology that has accompanied it since its first steps is a permanent sense of crisis invariably registered since the times of W.

James (James, 1890; etc.). The following are the commonly noted symptoms of the crisis:

• the disjointed character of the psychological science, a lack of conceptual unity;

• lack of a single universally shared theory;

• the mosaic-like and unsystematic character of psychological knowledge;

• lack of universal criteria of verification and authenticity of knowledge;

• non-cumulative nature of knowledge, with each new psychological trend declaring all the preceding psychology to be a collection of misconceptions and artifacts;

• separation of the whole personality into memory, thought, perception, attention and other mental functions, each leading a strange independent existence;

• various "parallelisms"-psycho-physical, psycho-physiological, psycho-biological and psycho-social - which psychology feels unable to resolve for itself, "puzzles," to borrow T. Kuhn's words (Kuhn, 1962); and others. True, at least three circumstances mitigate the permanent sense of crisis. First, in terms of their attitude to methodology psychologists may be divided into 4 main categories:

1) those who are largely indifferent to general methodological issues;

2) methodological rigorists who adhere to traditional, largely Positivist, research standards;

3) methodological anarchists generally sharing Paul Feuerabend's "anything goes" credo; and

4) methodological liberals who combine post-modernists and more traditional research approaches. By far the largest number of psychologists belongs to the first group, which makes the psychological community not very sensitive to the "eternal" methodological problems of psychology. Secondly, psychologists have got used to its permanent crisis which they often perceive as the normal state of their "abnormal" science. This sentiment, among other things, strengthens the long-standing conviction of the "special path" of psychology whereby its status cannot be assessed by comparing it to the natural sciences regarding their dissimilarity as a manifestation of the crisis of psychology (Gergen, 1994, etc.).

Third, psychology's methodological discourse expresses a kind of "poetics" of crisis, perceived in a positive light as something that stimulates the development of the psychological science, makes it more perceptive of methodological problems, etc., which prevents a sense of permanent crisis degenerating into a sense of permanent frustration. Studiedly optimistic statements such as "it is unclear whether there was a crisis or not, but it's good it's over" (McGuire, 1976) have gained some currency.

“Horizontal” Rupture The division of psychology into various schools that look like psychological empires is one of the commonly known symptoms of the permanent crisis of psychology.

The number of “psychological empires keeps growing as new “states within the psychological state” such as social constructionism, dialectical psychology, etc. are added to the traditional ones such as cognitivism, behaviorism, and psychoanalysis (Smith, 2001).

The proliferation of schools of thought that cannot find a common language (Ohlsson, 2007) is a great irritant to psychologists who seek to unite these schools in larger “types of psychology” such as “German-Austrian” and “North-American psychology” (Toomela, 2007). It multiplies the number of horizontal demarcation lines within the psychological science.

Such demarcations of the psychological science are reproduced and consolidated in psychological practice because its main areas of research give rise to corresponding trends in practical psychology. The feeble unification trends, far from diminishing, tend to increase entropy because their product as a rule is new, independent research currents that bear little resemblance to their "progenitors".

The main challenges in the way of integration of psychology spring not so much from the multiplicity of schools and trends arising on the basis of psychological meta-theories, as from their incommensurability, to use T. Kuhn's term. Each "psychological empire" lives according to its own laws including the rules of generating psychological knowledge, criteria of its authenticity, verification methods, etc. Meanwhile, the psychological meta-theories that underlie research trends are "more than theories". C.H. Franklin rightly notes that psychological theories are rules which prescribe what the researcher should do and how (Franklin, 1982), i.e. psychological theories effectively perform paradigmal functions. Naturally, most psychological theories generate a huge body of empirical studies carried out on their basis and such publications as Psychological Abstracts bring together both under the heading of "theory".

And, as is well known, the results of empirical studies inspired by this or that psychological theory are usually interpreted on the basis of that theory, thus repeatedly reproducing the "methodological circle" described by K. Danziger (Danziger, 1985). As a result the so-called "crucial experiments" designed to establish which of the conflicting theories is the right one turn out to be largely ineffective because empirical data are interpreted in terms of one of the theories being "verified," which inevitably they confirm. Contrary to Thomas Huxley's dismal statement that "the great tragedy of science is that an ugly fact can kill a beautiful theory" (Huxley, 1902, p. 63) facts per se are unable not only to "kill" a psychological theory, but even to seriously damage it.

To add to the picture, the majority of psychological theories have an "upper" and "lower" tie-ins: the "upper" being the underlying philosophical ideas of the nature of man and society and the "lower" having to do with the personal and psychological traits of their authors. As L. Hjelle and D. Ziegler stress, all the theories of personality are based on certain philosophical premises regarding the nature of man (Hjelle, Ziegler, 1992). For example, psychoanalysis adheres to a "gloomy concept of the human nature" (Ibid.) which flows from Freud's study of mentally disturbed people, and humanitarian psychology is wedded to the idea that man is inherently good and capable of self-improvement (Ibid.).

L. Hjelle and D. Ziegler emphasize the "lower-end" tie-in of psychological theories regarding the need to explain it as a general methodological principle and claiming that in order to understand the principles preached by this or that student of personality one needs information about his/her religious and social-economic status, the size of his/her family and the sequence of their birth,

relations with parents, education and professional experience (Ibid.).

Earlier the idea was expressed by B. Eiduson who believed that the theories of human nature are less an intellectual means of expressing the objective reality than the psychological traits of its authors (Eiduson, 1962). And J. Richards stressed that the theories any science develops bear the footprints of the personality of their authors, but that there is not a single scientific discipline in which the link stands out in such bold relief as in psychology (Richards, 1987). Not surprisingly, to borrow an apt metaphor from Agnew and Pyke, scientific research is similar to a love affair, and rejection of a once recognized theory is akin to jilting a sweetheart and requires more than just negative information about the sweetheart (Agnew, Pyke). As a result, psychological theories are not just "more", but "much more" than theories, at least much more than the term means in natural sciences, and the theoretical disunity of psychology is something more than the coexistence of various concepts within that science.

Logical empiricism

Logical empiricism is a philosophic movement rather than a set of doctrines, and it flourished in the 1920s and 30s in several centers in Europe and in the 40s and 50s in the United States. It had several different leaders whose views changed considerably over time. Moreover, these thinkers differed from one another, often sharply. Because logical empiricism is here construed as a movement rather than as doctrine, there is probably no important position that all logical empiricists shared—including, surprisingly enough, empiricism.

And while most participants in the movement were empiricists of one form or another, they disagreed on what the best form of empiricism was and on the cognitive status of empiricism. What held the group together was a common concern for scientific methodology and the important role that science could play in reshaping society.

Within that scientific methodology the logical empiricists wanted to find a natural and important role for logic and mathematics and to find an understanding of philosophy according to which it was part of the scientific enterprise.

Mapping the Movement

The term ‘logical empiricism’ has no very precise boundaries and still less that distinguishes it from ‘logical positivism’. It is therefore hard to map. ‘Logical empiricism’ here includes three groups:

(1) the Vienna Circle, here taken broadly to include those who were part of various private discussion groups, especially that around Moritz Schlick, and also the members of the more public Ernst Mach Society (Verein Ernst Mach),

(2) the smaller, but perhaps more influential Berlin Society for Empirical Philosophy (later called the Berlin Society for Scientific Philosophy), and

(3) those influenced by or who interacted with members of the first two groups and shared an intellectual kinship with them. Besides Vienna and Berlin, there were important centers of the movement in England, France, Scandinavia, at several universities in the U.S., and even China.

This characterization includes thinkers who disagreed with doctrines espoused by members of the original groups and even some who defined themselves in opposition to the movement. This results in a vague boundary, but it suffices to identify a movement in which a large number of able philosophers self-consciously participated and to distinguish logical empiricism from other movements.

Some Major Participants in the Movement

The logical empiricist movement is the sum of the interwoven trajectories of its members, so one way of describing that movement is to trace those various trajectories. To do so in detail for all those involved would take rather longer than the movement lasted. That would be inappropriate for one entry in an encyclopedia, especially one in which entries for many of the members will appear independently. The thumbnail sketches of the work of some representative figures below show the breadth and international character of the movement. While the list is long, it covers only a small fraction of those involved and leaves out many important thinkers.

A.J. Ayer (1910–1989)

An English philosopher in the tradition of British empiricism, Ayer visited the Vienna Circle in 1932–33. His book *Language, Truth, and Logic* (1936) was a best seller after World War II and represents logical positivism to many English speakers

Rudolf Carnap (1891–1970)

German by birth, he taught in Vienna, Prague, Chicago, and Los Angeles. He was one of the leaders of the Vienna Circle and of logical empiricism, especially of those within the movement whose formulations were more liberal, e.g., with respect to the criterion of

verification. He defended logical and methodological pluralism and worked to develop an epistemic approach to probability.

Walter Dubislav (1895–1937)

A German logician and philosopher of science, Dubislav was one of the founders, with Reichenbach and Grelling, of the Berlin Society of Empirical (later Scientific) Philosophy.

Herbert Feigl (1902–1988)

Born in what is now the Czech Republic, Feigl studied in Vienna with Schlick and Hahn. He emigrated to the U.S. before most other logical empiricists would do so. He taught at the Universities of Iowa and Minnesota and founded both *Philosophical Studies*, with Wilfrid Sellars, and the Minnesota Center for the Philosophy of Science. He is best known for his work on the mind-body problem.

Issues

It is not possible in an essay of this scope to trace all the issues that the logical empiricists addressed or even to treat any one of them with completeness. What is possible is to highlight some salient issues, clear away some misconceptions about them, and sketch a bit how those issues were developed over time. The first is a related set of concerns: empiricism, verificationism, and anti-metaphysics. The second is the logical empiricists' treatment of logic and mathematics as analytic. Third is the related issues of the unity of science and reduction. And finally, comes the issue of probability. Given what has already been said, the reader should be aware that none of the doctrines discussed below was shared by all members of the logical empiricist movement.

Empiricism, Verificationism, and Anti-metaphysics

Since antiquity the idea that natural science rests importantly on experience has been non-controversial. The only real questions about the sources of scientific knowledge are: Are there parts of science that do not rest on experience or rest also on something other than experience? If so what account can we give of those parts? And to the extent that science does rest on experience how can we know that it does? There is another question about science related to these, though not strictly about the sources of science, and that is: Why, in making claims about the world, should we be scientific as opposed to say mystical? The difficulty is that any scientific answer to this last question would reasonably be thought to beg the very question it purports to address.

Long before the twentieth century the prevailing opinion was that Euclidean geometry, standard mathematics, and logic did not rest on experience in any obvious way. They were largely presupposed in our empirical work, and it was difficult to see what if anything might disconfirm them. Geometry was a special case and might be handled in different ways that we shall not discuss here. That leaves logic and mathematics.

Analyticity

Logic, mathematics, and mathematical geometry had traditionally seemed to be confirmationally “different”. Indeed it is hard to indicate any conditions under which any parts of them would be disconfirmed. Leibniz had called them truths of reason. Hume said that they represented relations of ideas. Kant had held that the truths in these areas were a priori. Mathematics and geometry were not analytic for Kant, but logic was. Kant had two criteria of analyticity, apparently thinking them equivalent.

First, in subject-predicate sentences, an analytic sentence is one in which the concept of the predicate is contained in that of the subject. Second, an analytic sentence is one whose denial is self-contradictory.

This seems to include not only the sentences whose surface logical form would be of the required sort but also those that can be got from such logical truths by making substitutions that were conceptually equivalent. The more modern rough analog of this is to say that the analytic sentences are those that are true in virtue of logic and definition.

Indic influences on modern psychology

Indic Influences on Modern Psychology

This is only the beginning of an outline which I hope others on the YogaPsychology list will help to flesh out. I am basing the information here primarily on two sources: J.J,. Clarke's "Oriental Enlightenment:

The Encounter Between Asian and Western Thought" and Eugene Taylor's introduction to "The Physical and Psychological Effects of Meditation: A Review of Contemporary Research with a Comprehensive Bibliography, 1931 - 1996. The outline begins with some distinctions between psychology, psychotherapy and psychiatry.

Then there is a quick and extremely brief overview of the basic historical trends in psychology. Finally, there is a list with brief descriptions of some of the major individuals who have brought Indic influences to bear on psychology.

Psychology, Psychotherapy and Psychiatry

"*Psychology*", as taught in universities throughout the world, refers to an academic discipline, and a science which was established in the late 19th century. Several times on the YogaPsychology list, there has been reference to "science" as if the only real science is that which deals with physics and the brain.

However, the research methodology of psychology has been dealing with human experience for over 120 years, even if often or mostly in a reductionist fashion. Psychological science includes a wide variety of disciplines, including developmental psychology, personality psychology, social psychology, comparative or evolutionary psychology, and among the applied psychological disciplines, educational, sports and neuropsychology. Typically, at least in the United States, a psychologist has a Ph.D. (Doctorate)

"*Psychiatry*" is a subspecialty of the medical profession. A practicing psychiatrist usually has at least an M.D., though sometimes a Ph.D. as well. Psychiatrists are primarily focused on psychopathology, treating mental illness.

Historically (until approximately 50 years ago) this meant serious mental illness - the psychoses, manic-depression, major depression, obsessive- compulsive disorder, etc. With the increasing monetarization of the profession, there has been an widening array of so-called disorders which have increased to the extent that virtually nobody may be said to be free of mental illness.

"*Psychotherapy*" refers to a healing practice whose beginnings are associated for the most part with the psychoanalysis of Sigmund Freud, who was by training a neurologist, not a psychologist. For the first 50 years of the 20th century, most practitioners of psychotherapy were psychiatrists, which means their training was in

the field of medicine. By the 1970s, psychoanalysis had begun to fall out of favor, and the biological approach (drugs, essentially, though electro-convulsive therapy has had a resurgence as well) has gradually come to predominate, not in a small way because of the influence of the pharmaceutical companies.

Psychiatrists receive very little training in psychology. Psychologists make use of psychoanalytic ideas and practices, though there are uniquely psychological contributions to therapy such as behavioral therapy, cognitive-behavioral therapy and humanistic therapy, to name the most widely used approaches.

Historical Overview

The psychologist Cyril Burtt once summarized the modern history of psychological science in this way: "Psychology first lost its soul, then it lost its mind, until it was finally in danger of losing consciousness altogether". The official beginning of the science of psychology is 1879, when Wilhelm Wundt established the first psychological laboratory in Leipzig, Germany. The first formal school of psychology was the introspectionist school. Previously, psychology had been the domain of the philosophers. In an attempt to separate philosophy and science, psychologists no longer referred to the "soul".

The "introspection" of this early school of psychology was an extremely superficial and reductionist cataloguing of sensory experience. There was little progress made during the 30 or 40 years this school was in existence. (Though William James wrote his famous "*Principles of Psychology*" during this period, he failed to establish a separate school or approach to psychology).

The second psychological school represented a radical break from the Introspectionists, and was initiated in 1913 by John Watson, the first behaviorist. He called for the elimination of all references to internal experience (this is what Burtt was referring to as psychology "losing its mind"). B. F. Skinner, several decades later, took this a step further, referring to the brain as a "black box", and refusing acknowledgment of any sort of consciousness at all.

In the late 1950s, the cognitive "revolution" was initiated, often considered to be officially begun with George Miller's article, "*The Magic Number 7, plus or minus 2*" (this refers to the amount of "bits of information" which the average human being can carry in their memory - the reference to the ancient magic number "7" was made consciously, though the idea that mystical associations were to be taken seriously was strenuously avoided. You might say that psychological science was finally beginning to regain consciousness at this time!

Since the 1950s, there have no longer been separate competing "schools' of psychology, a problem which has plagued the field of psychotherapy, which has over 400 separate and non- integrated theories of how therapy works. The above-mentioned divisions of psychology - developmental, personality, social, etc - are considered specialty areas of one discipline, not competing schools of thought, much like nuclear physics and astrophysics, as opposed to the conflicting theories of cognitive therapy and psychoanalysis.

Generally speaking, university departments of psychology hold the purely scientific disciplines in much higher esteem than the applied disciplines of psychotherapy, educational psychology, etc. The names "Freud" and "Jung" are rarely even mentioned past the introductory courses of psychology. Many people who are familiar

with popular versions of psychology have heard of the "four forces of psychology" (psychoanalysis, behavior therapy, humanistic therapy, transpersonal therapy).

Technically, these are 4 divisions of psychotherapy, and have little connection with the world of scientific psychology. Even within the world of mainstream psychotherapy, the field of transpersonal psychotherapy is considered a fringe discipline . This should be kept in mind for the rest of this outline, as it is in the area of transpersonal theory that the Indic traditions have had the most direct influence.

Indic Influences on Modern Psychology

Gustav Fechner:

(I'm writing this partly from memory, and will try to find more in the future. I invite anyone who has more knowledge of Fechner's work to send corrections and additional information).

Fechnier was a physiologist with interests in mystical traditions. I believe his interests included Indian philosophy, but I'm not positive. Here is an interesting quotation which shows a surprisingly modern - or even post-modern - approach to science:

"That gravitation extends throughout the whole world is a matter of faith; that laws which are traceable in our limited realm extend limitlessly in space and time is a matter of faith; that there are atoms and lightwaves is a matter of faith; the beginning and the goal of history are matters of faith; even in geometry there are things we take upon faith, such as the number of the dimensions of space and the definition of parallel lines. Indeed, strictly speaking everything is a matter of faith which is not directly experienced... Ultimately the

best faith is that which is least contradictory in itself and to all knowledge and to our practical interest.

ome of the other major figures in transpersonal psychology include:

Charles Tart, an academic psychologist, who published "Altered States of Consciousness" in 1969, which contained an attempt to bring together systems thinking and ideas from teachings on Hindu and Buddhist meditation.

Claudio Naranjo, a psychistrist, began writing in the late 1960s on: Gestalt therapy and Buddhist meditation.

Robert Ornstein, a psychologist, in 1971 published "The Psychology of Consciousness", which incorporates ideas from Sufism, Buddhism, Taoism and Hinduism.

Allan Weinstock, a psychologist, (named "Swami Ajaya by the Indian Yoga teacher Swami Rama) wrote in 1976 "The Evolution of Consciousness and Psychotherapy". This book is particularl notable as it was published before Ken Wilber's first book, and includes the idea, derived independently from Wilber, of a spectrum of consciousness. However, the ideas in the book are much more closely drawn from Yoga and Vedanta, with the latter being fully acknowledged. Indian "psychology" is depicted as far more subtle and sophisticated than the work of Freud or Jung. Also, unusual in transpersonal writings, Indian psychology is taken to deal with virtually all of the areas which many modern writings feel are better handled by Freud and Jung.

Daniel Goleman, a psychologist and former chief editor of the periodical "Psychology Today", wrote "The Varieties of Meditative Experience" in 1977. Goleman is worth dwelling on for a bit. A friend

of Richard Alpert, he went to India to study Hindu and Buddist meditation. He returned to study psychology at Harvard. He wrote his dissertation studying under Herbert Benson. I'm not absolutely sure of this, but if my memory is correct, it was Goleman who, in what I think was a spark of inspiration with decidedly mixed results, suggested that meditation could be presented in a palatable form to modern secularized individuals as a form of "stress management". He took ideas developed in the 1920s by the physiologist Walter Cannon and later refined by Hans Selye in the 1950s as the "stress cycle" (dealing with the continual arousal of the autonomic nervous system leading to nervous exhaustion). He then suggested that the technique of meditation primarily served to deactivate this stress cycle. At the time, I thought this was a brilliant way of bringing meditation into the mainstream. However, over the years, I've come to see that the result is that meditation has been reduced to something negligible compared to its original purpose. Goleman, for example, defines meditation in "Varieties" as "an attitude of attentional manipulation". Anyone with any meditative experience knows that bringing this sort of attitude to the practice of meditation is likely to lead to headaches and irritability rather than a transformation of consciousness! In any case, the whole development of stress management and the wider disciplines of health psychology, behavioral medicine and complementary medicine, needs a whole study. Each of these fields has been deeply impacted by Indian practices and ideas, and many of the new centers for alternative and complementary medicine are making big efforts to hide this connection.

What is Essential aspects of knowledge paradigms: Ontology, epistemology, and methodology. Paradigms of Western Psychology: Positivism, Post-Positivism, Critical perspective, Social Constructionism, Existential Phenomenology, and Co-operative Enquiry Paradigmatic Controversies?

Essential aspects of knowledge paradigms: Ontology, epistemology, and methodology. Paradigms of Western Psychology: Positivism, Post-Positivism, Critical perspective, Social Constructionism, Existential Phenomenology, and Co-operative Enquiry .Paradigmatic Controversies

Essential aspects of knowledge paradigms: Ontology, epistemology, and methodology

A review of literature from leaders in the field leads to a deep understanding of the meaning of a research paradigm. For example, in The Structure of Scientific Revolutions American philosopher Thomas Kuhn (1962) first used the word paradigm to mean a philosophical way of thinking. The word has its aetiology in Greek where it means pattern. In educational research the term paradigm is used to describe a researcher's 'worldview' (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). This worldview is the perspective, or thinking, or school of

thought, or set of shared beliefs, that informs the meaning or interpretation of research data.

Or, as Lather (1986) explains, a research paradigm inherently reflects the researcher's beliefs about the world that s/he lives in and wants to live in. It constitutes the abstract beliefs and principles that shape how a researcher sees the world, and how s/he interprets and acts within that world. When we say that it defines the researcher's worldview, we mean that a paradigm constitutes the abstract beliefs and principles that shape how a researcher sees the world, and how s/he interprets and acts within that world. It is the lens through which a researcher looks at the world. It is the conceptual lens through which the researcher examines the methodological aspects of their research project to determine the research methods that will be used and how the data will be analysed.

Guba and Lincoln (1994) who are leaders in the field define a paradigm as a basic set of beliefs or worldview that guides research action or an investigation. Similarly, the gurus of qualitative research, Denzin and Lincoln (2000), define paradigms as human constructions, which deal with first principles or ultimates indicating where the researcher is coming from so as to construct meaning embedded in data. Paradigms are thus important because they provide beliefs and dictates, which, for scholars in a particular discipline, influence what should be studied, how it should be studied, and how the results of the study should be interpreted.

The paradigm defines a researcher's philosophical orientation and, as we shall see in the conclusion to this paper, this has significant implications for every decision made in the research process, including choice of methodology and methods. And so a paradigm

tells us how meaning will be constructed from the data we shall gather, based on our individual experiences, (i.e. where we are coming from). It is therefore very important, that when you write your research proposal for HDR, you clearly state the paradigm in which you are locating your research.

Essential Elements of a Paradigm

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), a paradigm comprises four elements, namely, epistemology, ontology, methodology and axiology. It is important to have a firm understanding of these elements because they comprise the basic assumptions, beliefs, norms and values that each paradigm holds. Therefore, in locating your research proposal in a particular research paradigm, the understanding is that your research will uphold, and be guided by the assumptions, beliefs, norms and values of the chosen paradigm. It is therefore important that you demonstrate that you know what each of these elements mean.

Epistemology of a Paradigm

Epistemology has its aetiology in Greek where the word episteme, means knowledge. Put simply, in research, epistemology is used to describe how we come to know something; how we know the truth or reality; or as Cooksey and McDonald (2011) put it, what counts as knowledge within the world.

It is concerned with the very bases of knowledge – its nature, and forms and how it can be acquired, and how it can be communicated to other human beings. It focuses on the nature of human knowledge and comprehension that you, as the researcher or knower, can possibly acquire so as to be able to extend, broaden and deepen understanding in your field of research. Schwandt

(1997) defines it as the study of the nature of knowledge and justification.

And so, in considering the epistemology of your research, you ask questions like: Is knowledge something which can be acquired on the one hand, or, is it something which has to be personally experienced? What is the nature of knowledge and the relationship between the knower and the would-be known? What is the relationship between me, as the inquirer, and what is known? These questions are important because they help the researcher to position themselves in the research context so that they can discover what else is new, given what is known. And so to understand the epistemological element of your paradigm, you should ask the very important question of how we know what we know?

This question is the basis for investigating 'truth'. Whereas it might be debatable as to whether there is such a thing as 'truth' (Davidson, 2000), if we take factual evidence as truth, then epistemology helps you to ask factual questions, such as how do we know the truth? What counts as knowledge? These are particularly important questions because one of the criteria by which higher degree research is judged is its contribution to knowledge.

In trying to articulate the answers to the above questions, researchers can draw from four sources of knowledge. Those sources are intuitive knowledge, authoritative knowledge, logical knowledge, and empirical knowledge (Slavin, 1984). If you rely on forms of knowledge such as beliefs, faith, and intuition, then the epistemological basis of your research is intuitive knowledge. If you rely on data gathered from people in the know, books, leaders in

organisations, then your epistemology is grounded on authoritative knowledge.

If you put emphasis on reason as the surest path to knowing the truth, then this approach is called rationalist epistemology or logical knowledge. On the other hand, if you put emphasis on the understanding that knowledge is best derived from sense experiences, and demonstrable, objective facts, then your approach leans towards empirical epistemology. Epistemology is important because, it helps you to establish the faith you put in your data. It affects how you will go about uncovering knowledge in the social context that you will investigate.

Ontology of a Paradigm

Ontology is a branch of philosophy concerned with the assumptions we make in order to believe that something makes sense or is real, or the very nature or essence of the social phenomenon we are investigating (Scotland, 2012). It is the philosophical study of the nature of existence or reality, of being or becoming, as well as the basic categories of things that exist and their relations. It examines your underlying belief system as the researcher, about the nature of being and existence.

It is concerned with the assumptions we make in order to believe that something makes sense or is real, or the very nature or essence of the social phenomenon we are investigating. It helps you to conceptualise the form and nature of reality and what you believe can be known about that reality. Philosophical assumptions about the nature of reality are crucial to understanding how you make meaning of the data you gather. These assumptions, concepts or propositions help to orientate your thinking about the

research problem, its significance, and how you might approach it so as to contribute to its solution.

Ontology is so essential to a paradigm because it helps to provide an understanding of the things that constitute the world, as it is known (Scott & Usher, 2004). It seeks to determine the real nature, or the foundational concepts which constitute themes that we analyse to make sense of the meaning embedded in research data. It makes you ask questions such as: Is there reality out there in the social world or is it a construction, created by one's own mind? What is the nature of reality? In other words, Is reality of an objective nature, or the result of individual cognition? What is the nature of the situation being studied? Ontology enables you to examine your underlying belief system and philosophical assumptions as the researcher, about the nature of being, existence and reality.

Philosophical assumptions about the nature of reality are crucial to understanding how you make meaning of the data you gather. These assumptions, concepts or propositions help to orientate your thinking about the research problem, its significance, and how you might approach it so as to answer your research question, understand the problem investigated and contribute to its solution.

Methodology of a Paradigm

Methodology is the broad term used to refer to the research design, methods, approaches and procedures used in an investigation that is well planned to find out something (Keeves, 1997). For example, data gathering, participants, instruments used, and data analysis, are all parts of the broad field of methodology. In sum, the methodology articulates the logic and flow of the systematic

processes followed in conducting a research project, so as to gain knowledge about a research problem.

It includes assumptions made, limitations encountered and how they were mitigated or minimised. It focuses on how we come to know the world or gain knowledge about part of it (Moreno, 1947). In considering the methodology for your research proposal, you should ask yourself the question: How shall I go about obtaining the desired data, knowledge and understandings that will enable me to answer my research question and thus make a contribution to knowledge.

In really simple terms, the three most common paradigms are explained below (and are shown in this epistemology diagram too, taken from here):

- **Positivists** believe that there is a single reality, which can be measured and known, and therefore they are more likely to use quantitative methods to measure and this reality.
- **Constructivists** believe that there is no single reality or truth, and therefore reality needs to be interpreted, and therefore they are more likely to use qualitative methods to get those multiple realities.
- **Pragmatists** believe that reality is constantly renegotiated, debated, interpreted, and therefore the best method to use is the one that solves the problem

The table below (which I created) gives a more detailed overview of each paradigm (and contains subjectivism and critical too), and your own research paradigm could very well sit in between one of the paradigms. You could use a top down or a bottom up approach to decide where your research sits.

In a bottom up approach, you decide on your research question, then you decide which methods, methodology, theoretical perspective you will approach your research from. In reality, I believe its probably neither strictly a top down or bottom up approach, you probably go back and forth till you find the right fit. I believe each research project would have a different research paradigm and hence a different theoretical perspective.

Applied, then to social psychology, it is important to understand the tension, throughout its history, between:

1. A more traditional experimental (quantitative) approach, which sees social reality as a set of facts to be known for all time by measuring people in the laboratory;

2. A more critical, discursive (qualitative) approach, which sees social reality as mutually constructed between people in the real world."

However, I must add that pragmatism (and hence mixed methods research) is also being increasingly used in social sciences.

The adoption of narrative within psychology

Narrative approaches have been applied diversely through a vastnumber of distinctfields. These include history[20–22], philosophy[23], sociology[24,25], anthropology[26], education[27,28], socialwork[29,30]and psychology[31–33]. However, the foundations of thebroad area that is now referred to as the narrative approach in psy-chology have their roots mainly in writings within literary theory[34].

A considerable body of work now exists in relation to policy-makingand policy analysis[35,36][see,for example,35,36], with an

ever-in-creasing proportion of this work looking at climate change or en-vironmental research[17,19]. The turn to narrative ways of under-standing human action and experience has its theoretical place withinwhat has generally been termed‘the interpretative turn’in the socialsciences[37,38].When adopted by psychology, the interpretative turn was a way inwhich certain writers such as Bruner[32]intended to‘return’to atheoretical position of understanding individual psychology that hadbeen seen to be overwhelmingly dominated by mechanistic metaphors[39]and the normative‘cognitive revolution’[32]. According toBruner, the cognitive revolution, which developed from the 1950salongside the evolution of the information communication technolo-gies, was an attempt to understand human actions and psychologicalprocesses as being analogous to those of a computer, using as its base acomputational information-processing metaphor to explore how in-dividuals make sense of their world[32]. Similarly, Sarbin argues thatthe dominant worldview in modern Western civilisation relies on the‘rootmetaphor’of mechanism[39]. He argues that by drawing on sucha metaphor we come to understand and explain our lives in terms of‘drives’and‘forces’that determine the causes of behaviour that un-derpin human experience.

C**onclusion**

This essay started by asserting that the work existing on the topic of pro-environmental behaviours within environmental psychology has not had the wide social impact needed to address the challenges arising as a result of climate change. Whilst we know more about people’s decision-making and attitudes and the factors that influence behaviours as a result of the 40 years of work on pro-environmental behaviours, there hasn’t been a subsequent change in the way in which people act in relation to energy.

The essay has argued that owing to the complexity associated with climate change, energy use and sustainability, the use of a normative social cognitive paradigm starts from a position that removes people from their social and cultural context.

A number of researchers from across the social sciences have, in the last decade, provided strong arguments for the value of adopting narrative approaches in understanding behavioural responses to climate change and the need to embed energy efficiency into daily practices .

Such work has looked at how people make sense of their lives and how energy policies can embed particular narratives within them in order to evoke particular individual responses and understand community-level approaches to environmental challenges. However, the move towards narrative within pro-environmental psychology remains in its infancy.

In this essay I have sought to redress this balance by exploring the development of what has become known as the ‘narrative turn’ in psychology, in order to provide a canvas upon which further applications of narrative within pro-environmental psychological research can build. The paper has reviewed ways in which various writers have adopted the narrative metaphor in attempting to understand individual and social understanding. As McAdams has argued, narratives are essential to our human development and understanding:

“We are tellers of tales. We each seek to provide our scattered and often confusing experiences with a sense of coherence by arranging the episodes of our lives into stories” .

Paradigms of Western Psychology: Positivism

As a philosophical ideology and movement, positivism first assumed its distinctive features in the work of Comte, who also named and systematized the science of sociology. It then developed through several stages known by various names, such as empiriocriticism, logical positivism, and logical empiricism, finally merging, in the mid-20th century, into the already existing tradition known as analytic philosophy.

The basic affirmations of positivism are (1) that all knowledge regarding matters of fact is based on the “positive” data of experience and (2) that beyond the realm of fact is that of pure logic and pure mathematics. Those two disciplines were already recognized by the 18th-century Scottish empiricist and skeptic David Hume as concerned merely with the “relations of ideas,” and, in a later phase of positivism, they were classified as purely formal sciences.

On the negative and critical side, the positivists became noted for their repudiation of metaphysics—i.e., of speculation regarding the nature of reality that radically goes beyond any possible evidence that could either support or refute such “transcendent” knowledge claims. In its basic ideological posture, positivism is thus worldly, secular, antitheological, and antimetaphysical.

Strict adherence to the testimony of observation and experience is the all-important imperative of positivism. That imperative was reflected also in the contributions by positivists to ethics and moral philosophy, which were generally utilitarian to the extent that something like “the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people” was their ethical maxim. It is notable, in

this connection, that Comte was the founder of a short-lived religion, in which the object of worship was not the deity of the monotheistic faiths but humanity.

The proximate roots of positivism, however, clearly lie in the French Enlightenment, which stressed the clear light of reason, and in 18th-century British empiricism, particularly that of Hume and of Bishop George Berkeley, which stressed the role of sense experience. Comte was influenced specifically by the Enlightenment Encyclopaedists (such as Denis Diderot, Jean d'Alembert, and others) and, especially in his social thinking, was decisively influenced by the founder of French socialism, Claude-Henri, comte de Saint-Simon, whose disciple he had been in his early years and from whom the very designation *positivism* stems.

Comte's positivism was posited on the assertion of a so-called law of the three phases (or stages) of intellectual development. There is a parallel, as Comte saw it, between the evolution of thought patterns in the entire history of humankind, on the one hand, and in the history of an individual's development from infancy to adulthood, on the other. In the first, or so-called theological, stage, natural phenomena are explained as the results of supernatural or divine powers. It matters not whether
the religion is polytheistic or monotheistic; in either case, miraculous powers or wills are believed to produce the observed events. This stage was criticized by Comte as anthropomorphic—i.e., as resting on all-too-human analogies. Generally, animistic explanations—made in terms of the volitions of soul-like beings operating behind the appearances—are rejected as primitive projections of unverifiable entities.

The second phase, called metaphysical, is in some cases merely a depersonalized theology: the observable processes of nature are assumed to arise from impersonal powers, occult qualities, vital forces, or entelechies (internal perfecting principles). In other instances, the realm of observable facts is considered as an imperfect copy or imitation of eternal ideas, as in Plato's metaphysics of pure forms. Again, Comte charged that no genuine explanations result; questions concerning ultimate reality, first causes, or absolute beginnings are thus declared to be absolutely unanswerable. The metaphysical quest can lead only to the conclusion expressed by the German biologist and physiologist Emil du Bois-Reymond: "Ignoramus et ignorabimus" (Latin: "We are and shall be ignorant"). It is a deception through verbal devices and the fruitless rendering of concepts as real things.

The Critical Positivism Of Mach And Avenarius

The influences of Hume and of Comte were also manifest in important developments in German positivism, just prior to World War I. The outstanding representatives of this school were Ernst Mach—a philosophical critic of the physics of Isaac Newton, an original thinker as a physicist, and a historian of mechanics, thermodynamics, and optics—and Richard Avenarius, founder of a philosophy known as empiriocriticism.

Mach and, along with him, Wilhelm Ostwald, the originator of physical chemistry, were the most prominent opponents of the atomic theory in physics and chemistry. Ostwald even attempted to derive the basic chemical laws of constant and multiple proportions without the help of the atomic hypothesis. To the positivist the atom, since it could not be seen, was to be considered at best a "convenient fiction" and at worst an illegitimate ad hoc

hypothesis. Hans Vaihinger, a subjectivist who called himself an "idealistic positivist," pursued the idea of useful fictions to the limit and was convinced that the concept of the atom, along with the mathematical concepts of the infinite and the infinitesimal and those of causation, free will, the economic actor, and the like, were altogether fictitious, some of them even containing internal contradictions.

Post positivism of paradigms Psychology

Let's start our very brief discussion of philosophy of science with a simple distinction between ***epistemology*** and ***methodology***. The term epistemology comes from the Greek word epistêmê, their term for knowledge. In simple terms, epistemology is the philosophy of knowledge or of how we come to know. Methodology is also concerned with how we come to know, but is much more practical in nature. Methodology is focused on the specific ways – the methods – that we can use to try to understand our world better. Epistemology and methodology are intimately related: the former involves the *philosophy* of how we come to know the world and the latter involves the *practice*.

When most people in our society think about science, they think about some guy in a white lab coat working at a lab bench mixing up chemicals. They think of science as boring, cut-and-dry, and they think of the scientist as narrow-minded and esoteric (the ultimate nerd – think of the humorous but nonetheless mad scientist in the *Back to the Future* movies, for instance). A lot of our stereotypes about science come from a period where science was dominated by a particular philosophy – ***positivism*** – that tended to support some of these views. Here, I want to suggest (no matter what the movie industry may think) that science has moved on in its thinking into an

era of ***post-positivism*** where many of those stereotypes of the scientist no longer hold up.

Let's begin by considering what positivism is. In its broadest sense, positivism is a rejection of metaphysics (I leave it you to look up that term if you're not familiar with it). It is a position that holds that the goal of knowledge is simply to describe the phenomena that we experience. The purpose of science is simply to stick to what we can observe and measure. Knowledge of anything beyond that, a positivist would hold, is impossible. When I think of positivism (and the related philosophy of logical positivism) I think of the behaviorists in mid-20th Century psychology. These were the mythical 'rat runners' who believed that psychology could only study what could be directly observed and measured. Since we can't directly observe emotions, thoughts, etc. (although we may be able to measure some of the physical and physiological accompaniments), these were not legitimate topics for a scientific psychology. B.F. Skinner argued that psychology needed to concentrate only on the positive and negative reinforcers of behavior in order to predict how people will behave – everything else in between (like what the person is thinking) is irrelevant because it can't be measured.

In a positivist view of the world, science was seen as the way to get at truth, to understand the world well enough so that we might predict and control it. The world and the universe were deterministic – they operated by laws of cause and effect that we could discern if we applied the unique approach of the scientific method. Science was largely a mechanistic or mechanical affair. We use deductive reasoning to postulate theories that we can test. Based on the results of our studies, we may learn that our theory doesn't fit the facts well and so we need to revise our theory to better predict

reality. The positivist believed in *empiricism* – the idea that observation and measurement was the core of the scientific endeavor. The key approach of the scientific method is the experiment, the attempt to discern natural laws through direct manipulation and observation.

OK, I am exaggerating the positivist position (although you may be amazed at how close to this some of them actually came) in order to make a point. Things have changed in our views of science since the middle part of the 20th century. Probably the most important has been our shift away from positivism into what we term *post-positivism*. By post-positivism, I don't mean a slight adjustment to or revision of the positivist position – post-positivism is a wholesale rejection of the central tenets of positivism. A post-positivist might begin by recognizing that the way scientists think and work and the way we think in our everyday life are not distinctly different. Scientific reasoning and common sense reasoning are essentially the same process. There is no difference in kind between the two, only a difference in degree. Scientists, for example, follow specific procedures to assure that observations are verifiable, accurate and consistent. In everyday reasoning, we don't always proceed so carefully (although, if you think about it, when the stakes are high, even in everyday life we become much more cautious about measurement. Think of the way most responsible parents keep continuous watch over their infants, noticing details that non-parents would never detect).

One of the most common forms of post-positivism is a philosophy called ***critical realism***. A critical realist believes that there is a reality independent of our thinking about it that science can study. (This is in contrast with a ***subjectivist*** who would hold that there is no external reality – we're each making this all up!). Positivists were

also realists. The difference is that the post-positivist critical realist recognizes that all observation is fallible and has error and that all theory is revisable.

In other words, the critical realist is *critical* of our ability to know reality with certainty. Where the positivist believed that the goal of science was to uncover the truth, the post-positivist critical realist believes that *the goal of science is to hold steadfastly to the goal of getting it right about reality, even though we can never achieve that goal*! Because all measurement is fallible, the post-positivist emphasizes the importance of multiple measures and observations, each of which may possess different types of error, and the need to use ***triangulation*** across these multiple errorful sources to try to get a better bead on what's happening in reality. The post-positivist also believes that all observations are theory-laden and that scientists (and everyone else, for that matter) are inherently biased by their cultural experiences, world views, and so on. This is not cause to give up in despair, however. Just because I have my world view based on my experiences and you have yours doesn't mean that we can't hope to translate from each other's experiences or understand each other. That is, post-positivism rejects the ***relativist*** idea of the ***incommensurability*** of different perspectives, the idea that we can never understand each other because we come from different experiences and cultures. Most post-positivists are ***constructivists*** who believe that we each construct our view of the world based on our perceptions of it. Because perception and observation is fallible, our constructions must be imperfect.

So what is meant by ***objectivity*** in a post-positivist world? Positivists believed that objectivity was a characteristic that resided in the individual scientist. Scientists are responsible for putting aside their biases and beliefs and seeing the world as it 'really' is. Post-

positivists reject the idea that any individual can see the world perfectly as it really is. We are all biased and all of our observations are affected (theory-laden).

Our best hope for achieving objectivity is to triangulate across multiple fallible perspectives! Thus, objectivity is not the characteristic of an individual, it is inherently a social phenomenon. It is what multiple individuals are trying to achieve when they criticize each other's work. We never achieve objectivity perfectly, but we can approach it. The best way for us to improve the objectivity of what we do is to do it within the context of a broader contentious community of truth-seekers (including other scientists) who criticize each other's work. The theories that survive such intense scrutiny are a bit like the species that survive in the evolutionary struggle. (This is sometimes called the ***natural selection theory of knowledge*** and holds that ideas have 'survival value' and that knowledge evolves through a process of variation, selection and retention). They have adaptive value and are probably as close as our species can come to being objective and understanding reality.

Clearly, all of this stuff is not for the faint-of-heart. I've seen many a graduate student get lost in the maze of philosophical assumptions that contemporary philosophers of science argue about. And don't think that I believe this is not important stuff. But, in the end, I tend to turn pragmatist on these matters. Philosophers have been debating these issues for thousands of years and there is every reason to believe that they will continue to debate them for thousands of years more.

Those of us who are practicing scientists should check in on this debate from time to time (perhaps every hundred years or so would be about right). We should think about the assumptions we make about the world when we conduct research. But in the meantime, we can't wait for the philosophers to settle the matter. After all, we do have our own work to do

Critical perspective of paradigms Psychology

At this point you have learned about four different theoretical paradigms we use to understand communication. One problem with these approaches is they often lack an explicit critique of the status quo of communication. Put another way, they serve as a general approach to understand communication norms rather than challenge them. We all realize that there are communication realities in the world that are hurtful and oppressive to particular people, and that there are people in the world that use communication to serve their own needs and interests.

The Need for Critical Theories

The **Critical Theories Paradigm** helps us *understand how communication is used to oppress, and provides ways to foster positive social change* (Foss & Foss; Fay). Critical Theories challenge the status quo of communication contexts, looking for alternatives to those forms of oppressive communication. These theories differ from other theoretical approaches because they seek praxis as the overarching goal.

Praxis is *the combination of theory and action*. Rather than simply seeking to understand power structures, critical theories actively seek to change them in positive ways. Easily identifiable examples of critical approaches are Marxism, postmodernism, and feminism.

These critical theories expose and challenge the communication of dominant social, economic, and political structures. Areas of inquiry include language, social relationships, organizational structures, politics, economics, media, cultural ideologies, interpersonal relationships, labor, and other social movements.

Cultural Studies focus on *understanding the real-life experiences of people, examining communication contexts for hidden power structures, and accomplishing positive social change as a result* (Dines and Humez; Kellner). According to Kellner, cultural studies involves three interconnected elements necessary for understanding, evaluating and challenging the power dynamics embedded in communication—political economy, textual analysis, and audience reception.

- **Political economy** focuses on *the macro level of communication*. Specifically, this part of cultural studies looks at the way media as text are situated in a given cultural context, and the political and economic realities of the cultural context. In the U.S., we would note that the political economy is one marked with gender, racial, and class inequities.
- **Textual analysis** involves *the process of deconstructing and analyzing elements of a media text*. If you wanted to look at a magazine with a critical eye, you would pay attention to the visual elements (the pictures in the ads; the celebrity photos, and any other drawings, cartoons or illustrations), the verbal messages (the text of the ads, the copy, captions that accompany the photographs), and the relationship between the advertisements and the copy.
- For example, is there an ad for Clinique eye shadow next to an article on the “hot new beauty tips for fall?” You would also

want to pay attention to the representation of gender, race, and class identities as well. Are there any differences or similarities between the portrayal of white women and women of color? What sort of class identity is being offered as the one to emulate?

- **Audience reception** asks us to consider *the role of the text for the audience that consumes it*. You might want to learn why people read particular magazines—what purpose does it fill, what is the social function of this text?

Origins of Critical Theories in Communication

Marxism is one of the earliest origins of critical theory. In addition, postmodernism, feminism, and postcolonialism have greatly influenced how critical theories have grown and expanded to challenge a greater number of social power structures. While each of these approaches examines a different area of oppression, all are critical approaches to enact great social changes, not only in western societies, but in cultures worldwide.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Karl Marx's ideas challenged the status quo of newly emerging industrial societies. As societies moved from agrarian-based economies to ones based in industrial manufacturing, there became an increasing division between the rich and the poor — much like the income inequality talked about so much today. Marx, in two of his most well-known works, *The Communist Manifesto* and *Capital*, argued that working class laborers were being oppressed by those in power, specifically the owners of manufacturing plants.

In any discussion of **Postmodernism**, another critical theoretical perspective, the difficulty of defining the term is invariably part of the

discussion. *Modern* refers to just now (from modo in Latin) and *post* means after.

Thus, this term translates into “after just now”—an idea that can be difficult to wrap our heads around. How do you, for example, point to or mark the period after just now? (Covino & Jolliffe, 76). In discussing the postmodern condition, Lyotard explained the relationship between those who have and don’t have social power: “The [decision makers] allocate our lives for the growth of power. In matters of social justice and scientific truth alike, the legitimation of that power is based on optimizing the system’s performance—efficiency” (27).

A third major influence on the development of the Critical Theories Paradigm comes from feminist theories. **Feminist theories** explore *power structures that create and recreate gendered differentiations in societies* (Foss & Foss; Dervin; MacKinnon). Critical feminist theories contend that gender relations are often oppressive to both men and women, and that they support an institution based on patriarchal values. Thus, critical feminist theories challenge dominant assumptions and practices of gender in ways that foster more equal and egalitarian forms of communication and social structures in society.

When discussing feminism and feminist theories we refer to a set of multiple and diverse theories. Feminist theories include a wide range of philosophical arguments, economic structures, and political viewpoints. Some of these include Marxist feminism, which focuses on the division of labor as a source of gender inequality, and liberal feminism, which asserts that men and women should have equal status in the culture—such as voting rights, educational and professional opportunities, and equal pay.

Eco-feminism recognizes that all parts of the universe are interconnected and that oppression of women and other minorities is analogous to the oppression of the natural environment such as in the cutting down of natural forests to meet consumer demands for paper goods, or the killing of animals for the eating of meat.

Critical Theories in Action

Whether we listen to music on our phones, watch TV, go to the movies, or read a magazine, most of us consume media. Have you ever stopped to think about who puts together those messages? Have you wondered what their goals might be and why they want to send the messages they do? One way we can use critical theories is to examine who owns what media to determine what they are trying to accomplish (Croteau & Hoynes).

For example, why does General Electric want to own companies like RCA and NBC? Why does a company like Seagram's want to buy MCA (Universal Studios) and Polygram records? What world-views are these companies creating in the media they produce? These are all questions for which we might consider using theories from the Critical Theories Paradigm. Did you know that in 1983 50 corporations controlled most of the U.S. media (papers, television, movies, magazines,etc.) and that by 2004 that number has dropped down to five corporations (Bagdikian)? Using Critical Theories Paradigm, we can begin to examine the messages that so few companies are constructing and their impacts on how we understand the world around us as shaped through these messages.

Other examples from the critical paradigm include works that examine gender, consumerism, advertising, and television. In her work, Who(se) Am I? The Identity and Image of Women in Hip-Hop,

Perry examines the potential danger and damage to African-American women through their objectification in Hip-Hop videos. Carole A.

Stabile examines the labor and marketing practices of Nike in her article, Nike, Social Responsibility, and the Hidden Abode of Production. Clint C. Wilson II and Felix Gutierrez discuss the portrayal of people of color in advertising in their article, Advertising and People of Color, while Jackson Katz explores mask of masculinity with his film, Tough Guise 2: The Ongoing Crisis of Violent Masculinity. We use critical theories to reveal a vast range of possible ideological structures that create and foster dominant world-views, and to challenge and change those ideologies that oppress others.

Strengths

A significant strength of the Critical Theories Paradigm is that it combines theory and practice, seeking to create actual change from theoretical development. Rather than seeking prediction and control, or explanation and understanding, critical theories seek positive social change. The intent behind these theoretical perspectives is to help empower those whose world-views and ideological perspectives have not found equality in social contexts. At their best, critical theories have the potential to enact large-scale social change for both large and small groups of people.

Weaknesses

A potential weakness of critical theories is their dependence on social values. While empirical laws theories seek an objective reality, critical theories highlight subjective values that guide communication behaviors. When values conflict the question of,

"whose values are better?" emerges. Because values are subjective, answering this question is often filled with much conflict and debate. The example of gay marriage highlights a current debate taking place over ideological values. How do we define marriage? And, whose definition is best?

Critical Stance Toward Taken-for-Granted Knowledge

Social constructionism takes a critical stance toward psychology's taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world and ourselves. Psychology has modeled itself on the natural sciences. These assume the epistemological approach of positivism, the view that knowledge comes from objective, unbiased observation of the world and that there is a true or accurate description of people, events, and things that science endeavors to reveal.

Positivism assumes that the world comes to us ready-made, and our task is to discover its true nature. Within this epistemology, the experiment is the gold-standard research paradigm (see "Ontology and Epistemology and Positivism and Realism").

But social constructionism cautions us to be suspicious of our assumptions about how the world appears to be. For example, it may seem obvious to us that there are two naturally occurring categories of human being, men and women.

But social constructionism bids us to seriously question whether the categories "man" and "woman" are simply a reflection of distinct types of human being and to consider instead that they are categories constructed by people themselves in the course of social interaction The same is true of other highly socially relevant concepts, such as "race." While in former times, it may have seemed unquestionable that there exist different races of human

beings, each with its own physical and psychological characteristics, research has failed to find any genetic basis for such distinctions; while human beings come in a diverse range of shapes, sizes, and colors, there is no evidence for the existence of genetically discrete races (see, e.g., Yudell et al. 2016).

We may ask why this matters and what social significance it has. The social constructionist would argue that challenging the existence of such natural categories helps us to disrupt and destabilize many of the assumptions we hold about men and women and about nonwhite peoples, assumptions that underpin inequitable practices. The familiar arguments that particular characteristics (or lack of them) are natural for women or men, or for black people, are frequently used to defend inequalities.

Social constructionism

Social constructionism represents a radical challenge to mainstream psychology in both theory and research. It began to emerge in social psychology in the 1970s and 1980s as a recognizable body of work by those who would, today, refer to themselves as, for example, “critical psychologists” and “discursive psychologists.” Social constructionism poses a challenge to psychology’s individualistic, essentialist, and intrapsychic model of the person, replacing it with a radically social account personhood and is, therefore, essentially a social psychology.

The taken-for-granted topics of mainstream psychology and social psychology, such as attitudes, motivation, personality, and emotion, were brought into question as structural features of the human psyche and instead seen as social constructions achieved though social interaction and language. As Craib (1997) points out, many social constructionist assumptions are fundamental to psychology’s

disciplinary cousin, sociology, and it is a measure of the unhelpful separation of sociology and psychology since the early twentieth century that psychologists have only recently begun to engage with social constructionist ideas.

Origins and Influences

Although social constructionism is a relatively new term in the social sciences, especially psychology, its ideas and practices have a longer history in disciplines such as sociology, philosophy, and linguistics. The key tenet of social constructionism is that our knowledge of the world, including our understanding of human beings, is a product of human thought, language, and interaction rather than grounded in an observable and definable external reality.

Such an idea, although strange to many psychologists, is fundamental to longstanding concepts in the sociology of knowledge, such as ideology and false consciousness, which focus on how sociocultural forces construct our knowledge in particular ways.

An important contributor to social constructionist thinking has been the micro-sociological approach of symbolic interactionism (see Berger and Luckmann 1966). George Mead, at the University of Chicago, had developed this approach from the earlier work of Herbert Blumer and later published his ideas in *Mind, Self and Society* (1934).

Mead had studied at Leipzig University under Wilhelm Wundt, who believed in the importance of sociocultural factors, such as myth, folk customs, and religion, in understanding human behavior and experience. Mead took up these ideas in his development of

symbolic interactionism, which argues that people construct and negotiate identities for themselves and others through their everyday social interactions with each other. Language, as a system of socially shared symbolic meanings, is central to this constructive process.

In psychology, the emergence of social constructionism is usually dated from Gergen's (1973) paper *Social Psychology as History* in which he argues that all knowledge, including psychological knowledge, is historically and culturally specific; we, therefore, must look beyond the individual and enquire into social, political, and economic realms for a proper understanding of the evolution of present-day psychology and social life.

He argues that it is pointless to look for final descriptions of people or society, since the only abiding feature of psychological and social life is that it is continually changing. Social psychology, thus, becomes a form of historical undertaking, since all we can ever do is to try to understand and account for how the world and people appear to be at the present time.

Gergen's paper was written at the time of what is referred to as "the crisis in social psychology" (see, e.g., Harré and Secord 1972; Armistead 1974), which provided some of the momentum for social constructionist ideas in psychology.

This crisis centered on worries about the way that social psychology's agenda was driven by the needs and motivations of powerful factions (government, the military, and commerce); social psychology as a discipline can be said to have emerged from the attempts by psychologists to provide the US and British governments during the Second World War with knowledge that could be used for propaganda and to manipulate behavior.

Social psychology, therefore, had historically served, and was paid for by, those in positions of power, both in government and in industry.

Its theories and research findings often seemed to bring further oppression to relatively powerless and marginalized groups (women, ethnic minorities,

working class people, and those of nonnormative sexual orientation), and this operated partly through the study of human phenomena in socially decontextualized laboratory environments, since experiments ignored the real-world contexts which, it was argued, give human conduct its meaning. There was a move to attend to this social context, as well as to explore human phenomena from the perspective of psychology's "subjects" themselves rather than privilege the perspective and voice of the relatively powerful researcher. These concerns encouraged social psychologists to embrace the ideas already flourishing in neighboring disciplines, including micro-sociology, and also fed into the burgeoning call to recognize qualitative research methods as legitimate and fruitful for the discipline of psychology.

Existential-Phenomenological Psychology

This approach to psychology is inspired by the philosophical tradition developed by thinkers such as Buber, Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Gadamer, de Beauvoir, Sartre, Marcel, Merleau-Ponty, and Levinas. Existential-phenomenology seeks to develop an in-depth, embodied understanding of human existence. It challenges approaches in psychology and psychiatry that view human beings in a reductionistic manner.

The program distinguishes itself by using this philosophical tradition as a foundation for psychotherapy and growth, and as a source of insight into the richness and diversity of human psychological experience.

Existential-Phenomenological Psychology is humanistic in that it challenges the modern tendency to interpret the human condition through a set of narrow technological lenses. It engages with and appreciates the wisdom accumulated by the rich traditions of reflection on the human condition in the social sciences and humanities. It deepens our understanding of the experiences and perspectives of others through its focus upon the meanings that we make in our lives and the choices that are reflected in our understandings and actions.

The phenomenological dimension nourishes an openness to understanding the lives and needs of others by helping us to identify and set aside our theoretical and ideological prejudgments as we approach our work as therapists. Finally, the existential-phenomenological approach is ethical in recognizing that the fundamental characteristic of being human is to be responsible to others.

According to J. H. van den Berg (1972), the development of phenomenological psychology began in 1894. At that time, Wilhelm Dilthey analyzed the methods of psychology and concluded that they had been derived from the physical sciences (e.g., physics, chemistry, biology, etc.) and were thus insufficient for a science of human beings (i.e., psychology). As van den Berg put it: Like the physicist, the psychologist tried to dissect the object of his studies; he tried to isolate the elementary factors of mental life to reconstruct actual mental life with these elementary factors. While it was

obvious, even then, that . . . an all-embracing psychology, could not be achieved this way,

Dilthey was the first to point this out . . . . In his opinion, the essential characteristic of the psychic aspect of human life is that it is . . . not a collection of elements. The psychologist . . . must try to find a method that originates from the subject itself. (pp. 126-127)
As psychology continued to grow and develop since the time of Dilthey, more and more psychologists came to see the need for a new approach to psychology.

For example, the Gestalt psychologists maintained that consciousness

Existential-Phenomenological Psychology

cannot be broken down into discrete components and retain their meaningfulness (Lahey, 1989). That is, in order to attain a comprehensive understanding of a person's conscious awareness of the world, psychologists cannot simply put together a group of previously abstracted parts. Humanistic psychologists, such as Carl Rogers and Abraham Maslow, reacted against the movement in psychology to understand human behavior as nothing but the product of some elemental determining factor, such as unconscious drives or the law of stimulus-response.

However, I know of no tradition that has contributed more to the advance of psychology as an inquiry into human experience and behavior without resorting to impersonal logic, a sloppy eclecticism, or a theoretically and methodologically weak qualitative approach than the European (i.e., existential) phenomenological tradition.

Phenomenological psychology has also continued to grow and develop since the time of Dilthey. Psychiatrists and psychologists

such as Ludwig Binswanger, V. E. von Gebsattel, Erwin Straus, E. Minkowski, Aron Gurwitsch, Alfred Schutz, Ernest Schachtel, Medard Boss and many others contributed to phenomenological psychology's early development.

Seattle University, Saybrook University, The University of Dallas, Sonoma State University, The Michigan School of Professional Psychology, Point Park University, and the University of West Georgia, as well as explicitly phenomenological journals, such as the Journal of Phenomenological Psychology, Phenomenology and Practice, The Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology, the Humanistic Psychologist,

The Journal of Humanistic Psychology, and Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences However, many psychologists, if they are familiar with phenomenology at all, often misunderstand the philosophical-anthropological fundaments of phenomenological psychology and phenomenological methodology.

Take any introduction to psychology text and search through it for an introduction to phenomenological psychology. I can almost guarantee that you will not find existential-phenomenology mentioned in the book at all. At best, you may find Viktor Frankl and/or Rollo May briefly mentioned under a section entitled "Humanistic Psychology."

My intention in writing this book is to provide a very brief introduction to existentialphenomenological psychology that instructors might use as a teaching tool for undergraduate or graduate students. I will attempt to fashion the contents of the book according to the issues that I have experienced to be so often wondered about by students during my own years as a student of phenomenological psychology. It is my hope that this text will be a

resource for the reader to begin the process of becoming acquainted with phenomenological language.

In chapter one, I briefly argue in favor of the need for phenomenology by exposing some of the difficulties inherent to the predominant philosophical-anthropological viewpoints in Western thought. Chapter two lays out the most fundamental aspects of the phenomenological approach to data analysis and provides examples of phenomenological research results taken from the psychology of verbal aggression.

Chapter three demonstrates how a descriptive-interpretive viewpoint like existential-phenomenology can be used to clarify the central "object" of study in psychology: human existence. Chapter four, What Phenomenology is Not, has been included to dispel any misconceptions the reader might have or come across regarding what phenomenology is.

is large in the sense that its aim is to provide a way of thinking about and approaching psychology that differs radically from what has become common knowledge in the field. Too much time is wasted looking for how "the brain creates" mental processes–or worse, where the mind resides in the brain–despite the fact that these kinds of ideas disintegrate under the scrutiny of disciplined reflection and philosophic analysis. It seems to me that human beings are increasingly interpreting their lives in reductionistic terms as psychology grows in popularity.

Co-operative Enquiry

Like any scientific research, psychological enquiry has the following goals: description, prediction, explanation, and control of behaviour, and application of knowledge so generated, in an objective manner.

Let us try to understand the meaning of these terms. Description : In a psychological study, we attempt to describe a behaviour or a phenomenon as accurately as possible. This helps in distinguishing a particular behaviour from other behaviours. For example, the researcher may be interested in observing study habits among students.

Study habits may consist of diverse range of behaviours, such as attending all your classes regularly, submitting assignments on time, planning your study schedule, studying according to the set schedule, revising your work on a daily basis etc. Within a particular category there may be further minute descriptions. The researcher needs to describe her/his meaning of study habits. The description requires recording of a particular behaviour which helps in its proper understanding.

Prediction : The second goal of scientific enquiry is prediction of behaviour. If you are able to understand and describe the behaviour accurately, you come to know the relationship of a particular behaviour with other types of behaviours, events, or phenomena. You can then forecast that under certain conditions this particular behaviour may occur within a certain margin of error.

For example, on the basis of study, a researcher is able to establish a positive relationship between the amount of study time and achievement in different subjects. Later, if you come to know that a particular child devotes more time for study, you can predict that the child is likely to get good marks in the examination. Prediction becomes more accurate with the increase in the number of persons observed.

Control : If you are able to explain why a particular behaviour occurs, you can control that behaviour by making changes in its

antecedent conditions. Control refers to three things: making a particular behaviour happen, reducing it, or enhancing it.

For example, you can allow the number of hours devoted to study to be the same, or you can reduce them or there may be an increase in the study hours. The change brought about in behaviour by psychological treatment in terms of therapy in persons, is a good example of control.

Application : The final goal of the scientific enquiry is to bring out positive changes in the lives of people. Psychological research is conducted to solve problems in various settings.

Steps in Conducting Scientific Research

Science is not so defined by what it investigates as by how it investigates. The scientific method attempts to study a particular event or phenomenon in an objective, systematic, and testable manner. The objectivity refers to the fact that if two or more persons independently study a particular event, both of them, to a great extent, should arrive at the same conclusion. For instance, if you and your friend measure the length of a table using the same measuring device, it is likely that both of you would arrive at the same conclusion about its length.

selects a theme or topic for study. Then s/he narrows down the focus and develops specific research questions or problems for the study. This is done on the basis of review of past research, observations, and personal experiences. For example, earlier you read that a researcher was interested in observing the study habits of students.

For this purpose, s/he may identify different facets of study habits first, and then decide whether s/he is interested in study habits

shown in the class or at home. In psychology we study a diverse range of problems related to behaviour and experiences. These problems may be related to

(a) understanding our own behaviour (for example, how do I feel and behave when I am in a state of joy or grief? How do we reflect on our own experiences and behaviour? Why do we forget?);

(b) understanding other individual's behaviour (for example, Is Abhinav more intelligent than Ankur? Why is someone always not able to complete her or his work on time? Can the habit of smoking be controlled? Why do some people suffering from chronic illness not take medicines?);

(c) group influences on individual behaviour (for example, why does Rahim spend more time meeting with people than doing his work?, Why does a cyclist perform better when cycling before a group of persons than when cycling alone?);

(d) group behaviour (for example, why does risk-taking behaviour increase when people are in a group?), and

(e) organisational level (for example, why are some organisations more successful than others? How can an employer increase the motivation of employees?). The list is long and you will learn about these various facets in subsequent chapters. If you are inquisitive, you can write down a number of problems which you may like to probe. After identification of the problem, the researcher proceeds by developing a tentative answer of the problem, which is called hypothesis. For example, based on the earlier evidence or your observation, you might develop a hypothesis 'greater is the amount of time spent by children in viewing violence on television, higher is

the degree of aggression displayed by them'. In your research, you shall now try to prove whether the statement is true or false.

Collecting Data : The second step in scientific research is to collect data. Data collection requires developing a research design or a blueprint of the entire study. It requires taking decisions about the following four aspects:

(a) participants in the study,

(b) methods of data collection,

(c) tools to be used in research, and

(d) procedure for data collection. Depending upon the nature of the study, the researcher has to decide who would be the participants (or informants) in the study.

The participants could be children, adolescents, college students, teachers, managers, clinical patients, industrial workers, or any group of individuals in whom/ where the phenomenon under investigation is prevalent. The second decision is related to the use of methods of data collection, such as observation method, experimental method, correlational method, case study, etc. The researcher needs to decide about appropriate tools (for example, interview schedule, observation schedule, questionnaire, etc.) for data collection. The researcher also decides about how the tools need to be administered to collect data (i.e. individual or group). This is followed by actual collection of data.

Drawing Conclusions : The next step is to analyse data so collected through the use of statistical procedures to understand what the data mean. This can be achieved through graphical representations (such as preparation of pie-chart, bar -diagram,

cumulative frequencies, etc.) and by the use of different statistical methods. The purpose of analysis is to verify a hypothesis and draw conclusions accordingly.

Revising Research Conclusions : The researcher may have begun the study with a hypothesis that there exists a relationship between viewing violence on television and aggression among children.

Overview of co-operative inquiry

CI is a kind of action research, aimed at acquiring knowledge about human experience through action and joint reflection. The most comprehensive guide is Heron (1996). (Additional sources include Heron & Reason, 2001; Reason, 1994b, 1988d, 1994c; Reason & Bradbury, 2001; Reason & Heron, 1999; Reason & Rowan, 1981.) In its fullest form the researcher-subject distinction disappears and all participants are both co-researchers and cosubjects. Its defining features are (Heron, 1996, pp. 19-20)

Paradigmatic Controversies

On the matter of hegemony, or supremacy, a,mong postmodern paradigms, it is clear that Geerrz's (1988, 1993) prophecy about the "blurring of genres" is rapidly being fulfilled. Inquiry methodology can no longer be treated :1s a set of universally applic:1ble rules or abstractions.

Methodology is inevitably interwoven with and emerges from the nature of particular disciplines (such as sociology and psychology) and particular perspectives (such as Marxism, feminist theory, and queer theory). So, for inst:.mce, we can read feminist critical theorists such as Olesen (Chapter 8, this volume) or queer theorists such as Gamson (Chapter 12, this volume), or we can follow

arguments about teachers as researchers (Kincheloe, 1991) while we understand the secondary text to be teacher empowerment and democratization of schooling practices. Indeed, the various paradigms are beginning to "interbreed" such that two theorists previously thought to be in irreconcilable conflict may now appear, under a different theoretical rubric, to be informing one another's arguments.

A personal example is our own work, which has been heavily influenced by action research practitioners and postmodern critical theorists. Consequently, to argue thar it is paradigms that are in contention is probably less useful than to probe where and how paradigms exhibit confluence and where and how they exhibit differences, controversies, and contradictions. Major Issues Confronting All Paradigms In our chapter in the first edition of this Handbook, we presented two tables that summarized our positions, first, on the axiomatic nature of paradigms (the paradigms we

considered at that time were positivism, postposirivism, critical theory, and constructivism; Guba & Lincoln, Since publication of that chapter, at least one set of authors, j ohn Herem and Peter Reason, have elaborated upor1 our tables to include the participatory/cooperative par::tdigJn (Heron, 1996; Heron & Reason, 1997, pp. 2.89-290}.

Thus, in addition to the paradigms of positivism, posrposirivism, critical theory, and constructivism, we add the participatory p::tradigm in the present chapter (this is an excellent ex::tmple, we might add, of the hermeneutic elaboration so embedded in our own view, construnivism). Our aim here is to extend the an::tlysis further by building on Heron and Re:.~son's additions and by rearr:1nging the issues to reflect cu rrent thought.

Or issues· rn:1y be import:Jnt because new or exte nded theoretic::ll 'tnd/or field-oriented treatments for them are newly nailable-voice and retlexiviry are rwo such issues. reprises the original bur adds the axioms of the participatory paradigm proposed by Heron and Reason (1997).deals wit~ seven issues and represents an update of sele.:red issues first presented in the old "Voice" in the 1994 version of h::ts been renamed "inquirer posture," and a redefined "voice" has been inserted in the current

In all cJses except "inquirer posture," the entries for the P'trticiparory paradigm are those proposed by Heron and Reason; in rhe one case not covered by them, we have Jdded a notation that we believe c::tptures their intention. \X'e make no ::tttempr here to reprise the material well discussed in our earlier Handbook chapter. Instead, we focus solely on the issues in: axiology; ::tccommodarion and commensurability; action; control; foundations of truth and knowledge; validity; and voice, reHexivity, and postmodern textual representation. We believe these seven issues to be the most important at this time. While we believe these issues to be the most contentious, we ::tlso believe they create the intellectual, theoretical, and practical space for dialogue, consensus, and confluence to occur. There is great potential for interweaving of viewpoints, for the incorporation of multiple perspe.:rives, and for borrowing or bricolage, wh~:re borrowing seems useful, richness enhancing, or theoretically heuristic. For insr::~nce, even though we

ourselves social onstructivists/contructionists, our call to action embedded in rhe authenticity criteria we elaborated in Fourth Generation Evaluation (Guba & Lincoln, 1989) reflects strongly the bent to action embodied in critical theorists' perspectives. And although Heron and Reason have elaborated a model they call rhe

cooperative paradigm, careful reading of their proposal reveals a form of inquiry that is post

Posirive, postmodern, and criricalisr in orient

As a result, the reader familiar with several theoretical and paradigmatic strands of research will find th:.tt echoes of many stre:.tms of thought come together in the extended table. What this means is that the categories, as Laurel Richardson (personal communication, September 12, 1998) has pointed out, "are fluid, indeed what should be a category keeps altering, enlarging." She notes that "even JS [we] write, the boundaries between rhe paradigms are shifting." This is the paradigmatic equivalent of the Geerrzian "blurring of genres" to which we referred earlier.

Our own position is that of the construction isr camp, loosely defined. We do nor believe that criteria for judging either "reality" or validity are absolutist (Bradley & Schaefer, 1998), but rather are derived from community consensus regarding what is "real," what is useful, and what has meaning (especially meaning for action and further steps). We believe that a goodly portion of social phenomena consists of the meaning

making activities of groups and individuals around those phenomena. The meaning-making activities themselves are of central interest to social constructionists/constructivists, simply because it is the meaning-making/sense-making/ attribution

activities that shape action (or inaction). The meaning-making activities themselves can be changed when they are found to be incomplete, faulty (e.g., discriminatory, oppressive, or non liberatory), or malformed (created from data that can be shown to be false).

What is Significant Indian paradigms on psychological knowledge: Yoga, Bhagavad Gita, Buddhism, Sufism, and Integral Yoga. Science and spirituality (*avidya* and *vidya*). The primacy of self-knowledge in Indian psychology?

Significant Indian paradigms on psychological knowledge: Yoga, Bhagavad Gita, Buddhism, Sufism, and Integral Yoga. Science and spirituality (*avidya* and *vidya*). The primacy of self-knowledge in Indian psychology

Significant Indian paradigms on psychological knowledge: Yoga

Psychological knowledge of Yoga

"Is there therapy in the Vedas?" I was a bit taken aback by this inquiry from a young and dedicated yoga practitioner. He had been struggling for years with psychological problems. Although he had embraced a traditional path of yogic transformation, he found the help he needed in a more modern self-help process based on contemporary psychology. As I thought about his inquiry, however, the answer seemed obvious. Rich in a tradition of intact family and community support, those born in traditional India did not need to rely on specialists to sort out mental afflictions caused mostly by social dysfunction. Classical Indian philosophy, especially its

traditions of yoga, does, however, have detailed information on the nature of the mind.

Inspired by my young friend's question and desiring to organize that information in a relevant way to help address the mental challenges so many people face today, I categorized the basic tenets of yoga psychology into five broad principles:

1. The mind is malleable.
2. There is a correlation between the form the mind assumes and how one feels.
3. The mind is swayed by the power of three main factors—karma, environment, and actions.
4. By controlling the form or mode the mind takes, one can substantially influence how one feels.
5. Full satisfaction can ultimately only be achieved by transcending the mind and realizing the true self.

The mind, like any mechanism, can be used more effectively when one knows its workings. This is especially important as the proper use of the mind is the basis of self-fulfillment. Yoga psychology thus speaks to the most important of all human aims: true happiness.

The Basic Principles of Yoga Psychology:

ONE: THE MIND IS MALLEABLE.

Subtle things are often described in more concrete ways to help us understand them. In the school of Yoga the mind is thus often described as supple, almost like clay, in that it can be easily molded and that external influences make indelible impressions.

The significance of this description of the mind as supple (*Principle One*) is the correlation between the shape the mind assumes and one's accompanying moods (*Principle Two*) and that by understanding the main factors by which the mind is molded (*Principle Three*) one can influence how one feels (*Principle Four*). Most important, by this understanding, one can learn to shape the mind as a vehicle for its own transcendence and attain ultimate satisfaction (*Principle Five*).

TWO: THERE IS A CORRELATION BETWEEN THE FORM THE MIND ASSUMES AND HOW ONE FEELS.

Like everything in the world, the mind is composed of a combination of three modes of nature—*sattva guna* (goodness), *raja guna* (passion) and *tamo guna* (ignorance)—which are in flux. These subtle strands of matter, which are the elemental substrata of creation, also have specific intrinsic characteristics with particular symptoms and effects. Because there is a direct correlation between the modes of nature and how one feels, by identifying the present form or mode of the mind, one can also comprehensively understand its influence.

THREE: THE MIND IS SWAYED BY THE POWER OF THREE MAIN FACTORS—ONE'S KARMA, ONE'S ENVIRONMENT, AND ONE'S ACTIONS.

The modes of nature are constantly competing within the mind for influence. A particular mode gains prominence by its association with one of three factors: the weight of one's karma, the nature of one's environment, and the tenor of one's actions. How each affects the mind is comprehensively described in classical Indian thought:

1. The positive effect of karma (destiny) on consciousness is described in three basic ways:A. By understanding the message of destiny: Destiny is the language of God. Each event we experience is the Divine in the form of time (*kala*) telling us something essential about ourselves to help us grow.B. By understanding the proper response to destiny: *Sastra* (Indian sacred texts) also describes the appropriate response to each circumstance of destiny to ensure the healthiest development of the mind.C. By understanding how to align oneself with our innate nature born of destiny: Our basic nature is composed of latent impressions in the subconscious (*samskaras*) posited there at birth as a result of karma. *Sastra* describes the science of living in harmony with one's nature, which is the foundation of a peaceful mind.
2. The subtle effects of the diverse forms of the *environment* on consciousness are described by a thorough classification of the various objects of perception (sights, sounds, and so on) into a gradation of modes that shape the mind according to their influence.For example, music within a specific mode can move the mind accordingly, either towards lethargy (music in the mode of ignorance), restlessness (music in the mode of passion), or peacefulness (music in the mode of goodness). All objects of perceptions can similarly be classified with predictable affects on the consciousness.
3. Similarly, the subtle effects of the diverse forms of *action* are classified according to motive and understanding with their corresponding influence on the mind.For example, if one acts for self-purification or just adheres to moral or spiritual principles (actions in the mode of goodness) one's mind

becomes more lucid, increasingly peaceful, and strong in will, the symptoms and effects of goodness.This understanding of how actions influence the mind also leads to a basic understanding of *dharma*. *Dharma* is the correct choice in any circumstance to ensure the healthiest affect on the mind. This very subtle science of prescribed action (*dharma*) is elaborately described in *sastra*.

FOUR: BY CONTROLLING THE FORM OR MODE OF THE MIND, ONE CAN SUBSTANTIALLY INFLUENCE ONE'S DESIRES AND FEELINGS.

All forms of therapy and self-help deal with guiding one to a greater self-awareness and personal satisfaction. By offering a system that accurately describes the nature of the mind, including a description of the internal and external factors that influence it, Classical Indian philosophy contributes substantially to the science of mental transformation.

FIVE: FULL SATISFACTION CAN ULTIMATELY BE ATTAINED ONLY BY RISING ABOVE THE MIND AND EXPERIENCING THE REAL SELF.

As the material mind is not the true self, no matter how much one transforms the mind to conform to higher forms of nature, perfect mental satisfaction will evade one for the following reasons:

1. The pleasure experienced by the mind is ultimately *superficial*, a joy experienced by identifying with something external to the self. Seeking such pleasure is akin to a person enjoying the pleasure of a dream.
2. It is also a form of happiness that is *temporary* and therefore *full of duality*. Duality means that alongside this

pleasure — which is connected with a false sense of self — there must also be the distress of pleasure lost when the body ends.

In this regard there is a tradition of *Sankhya* (analysis) that identifies all 24 material elements, including the mind, for the purpose of isolating the eternal or spiritual self for the attainment of happiness that is *real*, *eternal*, and *non-dual*.

Although yoga promotes an integrated, peaceful mind, it is not meant to be an end in itself, but a means to stabilize the mind for its highest purpose—realization of a higher state of consciousness. This is classically achieved through the practice of three core paths—work (*karma-yoga*), knowledge (*jnana-yoga*), and devotion (*bhakti-yoga*).

The Fundamental Nature of the Mind

To understand the mind properly a basic understanding of its function is essential. One therefore has to be familiar with its context or purpose in the cosmos.

In *Yoga*, *Sankhya*, and much of *Vedanta*, this world is described as pure awareness (*purusa* or soul) entangled or misidentified with matter (*prakrti*). Although the ultimate beginning of this dilemma is not a major concern for most, the immediate cause of this

unwholesome juncture is; Out of egotism when the soul rejects its pure state of selfless awareness, its consciousness is projected on a particular field of matter called the body (which includes the mind). As the changes in one's life that evoke duality and fear, such as disease and death, are happening in the body, not the true self, this unnatural and temporary state of identification is the root of

suffering. Awakening from it, or emancipation (*moksa*), is thus life's ultimate objective.

In context of this cosmic paradigm, the mind, called the *citta*, is the first sheath or covering of the soul. It functions as an instrument whereby the soul (*purusa*) enveloped in matter can either view the world to serve the false self (and suffer) or the pure self (and feel fulfilled).

Bhagavad-gita thus aptly describes this function in the simple duality as the mind being either the friend or enemy of the soul. Similarly, the *Yoga Sutras* describe thoughts born of the mind as either unhealthy (*klistha*) or healthy (*aklistha*).

To fulfill this dual role, the mind has different functions of thought. Although different schools ascribe slightly different roles to the different divisions of the mind, there is a basic agreement that the mind has three essential functions of thought:

1. *manas* – impulsive synthesis and response (initial categorization of all phenomena received through the senses and one's spontaneous like or dislike of them)
2. *buddhi* – reflective examination (judgment and will)
3. *ahankara* – relational response (self-identity and self-conceit)

Any system of transformation, whether to improve basic mental health or to achieve self-realization, is based on an understanding of at least some facsimile of these divisions.

Once the mind categorizes an object through a combination of these three functions of thought—our feelings, judgment, and sense of relationship—an impression of that object is imbedded within the mind. These latent impressions, called *samskaras*, created both in

this life and the past, determine how we view, feel, and respond to the world. They are the single most important factor in over-all well-being.

The first function of any system of self-improvement is thus to help one judge whether one's present thoughts based on these latent impressions represent the true nature of things. It then helps one create a more accurate perception through the tools available from that system.

The Healthy and Unhealthy Mind

As mentioned, the nature of the mind is the *samskaras* imbedded within it. We are born in a basic mental condition due to such *samskaras* carried from past lives and also face certain conditions and events in life that foster further *samskaras*.

Our formative years, where *buddhi* (intelligence) is underdeveloped, especially fashions the basis of one's mental health. *Buddhi* functions as a medium between the information coming through the senses and the final impression such data leaves on the consciousness. In other words, intelligence functions to translate our experiences in a reasonable way before they make impulsive and unhealthy *samksaras*. A child is thus especially susceptible to distorted impressions and even trauma because of this inability to digest his or her experiences by proper analysis into reasonable memories.

Stable parents, who affectionately monitor their child to protect him or her from such stirring events, and who deal properly with them, instill good samskaras in their child. Good *samskaras* mean impressions that reflect the true nature of things and produce thoughts that help one grow. Such parents especially provide a

nurturing environment. Deep impressions of affection in the mind enable one to see the world with promise and to feel secure even in challenging circumstances. Bereft of such memories, one is prone to depression.

A child also needs reasonable boundaries set by the parents. Without a relatively fixed world set by the protective figure, the child lives in a world of flux determined by his whims and demands. As a result, impressions of anxiousness are imbedded in the child's mind, making him susceptible to excessive anxiety as he grows up to face a world of challenge and change.

Parents are the most important factor in the development of a strong mind. Thus a culture that is not structured to facilitate appropriating nurturing and reasonable boundaries molded by strong traditions of child rearing and community support will produce in various degrees mental instability, even if not at the level of trauma.

Although the foundations of mental health are set in the formative years, it is important to remember that the mind is malleable. With the proper process of transformation, mental health can be attained at any stage of life.

Attaining Mental Health

Especially in the modern world, people find themselves in societies where the support of community and family has been substantially eroded. Much of modern society thus relies on specialists in therapy and self-transformation to attain good mental health.

Although sound mental health was integral to traditional Indian society and therapy as a specialized field dealing with mental disorders was virtually non-existent, still within the scope of yogic

knowledge there is a wealth of in-depth information on the workings of the mind, including knowledge applicable to restoring mental health.

Some of that knowledge was alluded to in the beginning of this article when the basic principles of yoga psychology were described, especially the three factors by which the mind is swayed—our karma, the environment, and our actions. Each of these will now be discussed in more depth:

KARMA AND THE MIND

Karma is a powerful factor in influencing the mind. What comes to us in our daily lives by destiny is often disconcerting. Powerful mental states may also suddenly arise as a result of past actions. Due to karma we are also born with a set mental nature, which conditions the mind. Our response to these three manifestations of destiny is the main factor in forming our mental state.

Practically all classical Indian schools of thought accept destiny as an eternal moral order, a force to help us grow provided we comprehend the message it bears and respond properly. *Sastra*, to a large degree, is a compendium of archetypal stories of destiny with lessons on how to understand and respond to various circumstances.

That all tribulations of destiny are filled with messages of self-transformation is attested to by the fact that most individuals would not trade the difficulties they underwent if they had to also relinquish the valuable lessons they learned from them. According to yoga psychology, optimum mental health cannot be achieved without some connection to a tradition of knowledge that teaches one to

understand and respond to each situation in life in a way that molds one's mind towards goodness.

Although we can substantially change our nature by guidance and self-discipline, we are still born with a certain basic karmic nature. Part of that nature includes inborn occupational proclivities, for instance the longing to be creative, make money, or become learned. Another part of our psyche carries innate social tendencies such as the degree of our detachment or attachment to worldly life. If unhealthy attachments are pronounced, they cannot be transcended by will power alone, nor is it healthy to do so.

Repression causes frustration and anger, which molds the mind towards ignorance, making one susceptible to the result of that mode: inactivity and depression. *Sastra* thus helps identify one's occupational and social proclivity and prescribes suitable duties based on those inclinations, such as recommendations for career and marriage. Only by the regulation of strong attachments, and not by the unrestricted indulgence or thoughtless repression of them, both which degrade the mind, can one be elevated to a higher state of mental well-being.

Optimal mental health is thus very hard to achieve without carefully understanding one's nature and engaging it properly.

ENVIRONMENT AND THE MIND

Bhagavad-gita confirms the importance of the environment in molding the mind towards goodness when it deems the knowledge found in the fourteenth chapter , where the modes of nature are comprehensively analyzed, best of all. Traditional Indian culture, ideally ordered in goodness, was itself influenced by this knowledge. Thus just living in such a society, where many aspects

of life were carefully guided by this knowledge, from the objects of sound (music) and sight (art) to moral behavior, was therapeutic.

Although today one has little access to such an environment, still everyone has at least some control over his or her immediate surroundings. For example, the parts of the day that are in different modes, are usually within one's rule. Thus if we simply wake early, just before and around sunrise which is the time of the day substantially in the form of *sattva guna* (goodness), the mind will be given a significant boost towards goodness. Of course, the factors that influence the mind are numerous, but even such a simple adjustment of taking avail of the early morning hours will substantially engender peacefulness and clarity of mind.

All five objects of the senses (sight, sound, touch, smell, and taste) can manifest in different modes and thus everything from our diet to the people we associate with, from the places we frequent to our level of cleanliness can be molded in a way to influence the mind to a higher state of well-being.

Those concerned with strong inner well-being, whether to make an unhealthy mind healthy for the purpose of general contentment, or to make the healthy mind more fit to facilitate meditation, must know the science of how the environment affects the consciousness.

ACTIONS AND THE MIND

There are three groups of action geared for positive transformation: actions with an innate spirit of attachment, but restrained by regulation (*karma-yoga*), restrained actions (*jnana*) , and dedicated actions (*bhakti*).

For the sake of discussing action in terms of how it affects the supple mind, I have divided action into four categories. The three groups of action above will be explored within those categories

I. *Dharma*
II. Programming
III. Spiritual practice in general
IV. The path of devotion (*Bhakti*)

HOW ACTIONS AFFECT THE MIND

Before discussing the four categories of action in relation to the mind, it is helpful to review the mechanics of how information from the senses and one's response to it create the general tenor of one's mind:

Information entering the mind through the senses makes latent impressions called *samskaras* that form one's basic psychological make-up. *Samskaras* are imprints in the subconscious that push to be filled or nor filled with the same experiences that caused them. They can also be called attachments, latent desires, or memories of pleasures. Based on those *samskaras*, one responds to future data by ascribing some feeling (like or dislike) towards it. As a result one is impelled to once again act, to have new experiences and thus either create additional *samskaras*, or strengthen old ones. In either case, the tenor of the mind is altered.

For example, if one drinks alcohol and becomes gladdened, a memory of that particular pleasure, a *samskara*, is imbedded in the psyche. The desire for intoxication thus becomes part of one's psychology. Although that imprint may remain latent (in that one may not always feel like drinking) when that *samskara* is activated by some circumstance, for example going to a party where alcohol

is served, one is impelled to drink. In this way, a further imprint for drinking is imbedded in the psyche, increasing one's desire for alcohol and also the likelihood of drinking in the future.

In other words, a single act and the accompanying experience can entangle the soul in a continual cycle of the creation and fulfillment of impulses. Within this karmic circle the *samskara* at the root of the initial action is then perpetually strengthened so that a predominant psychological nature is formed.

It can't be stressed enough how important properly translating the information we receive through the senses is, as the *samskara* made by sense data is ultimately determined by one's interpretation of it. In other words, the very same information can produce imprints that foster either enlightening or degrading thoughts (and consequent actions) depending on how such data is computed.

Pertaining to this subject, the role of *buddhi*, or intelligence, as the function of the mind with the capacity to properly digest or comprehend information has already been discussed. Properly comprehended or digested sense data means understanding the true nature of things.

This correlation between understanding reality and mental health and the parallel between ignorance and suffering is at the core of yoga psychology. This connection is also not foreign to most schools of psychological therapy where most fears, phobias, anxieties, and mood swings are not considered fundamental conditions of reality, but mistaken conceptions of it, the only difference being the differing methods stressed to bring one to a higher level of cognition. Most schools also recognize the transforming or therapeutic affect of bringing one to a stage of

appropriate action based on higher cognition and the positive affect that has on the mind.

In conclusion, actions have a very influential affect on the condition of the mind, and inspire positive mental transformation when they are in response to a solid understanding of the world. All four categories of action are thus based on producing healthy imprints related to an understanding of the true nature of objects and situations.

Psychological knowledge of Bhagwat Geeta

Spoken and written commentary on Bhagavad Gita, the distilled spiritual essence of Vedas and Upanishads, is aplenty. Mahatma Gandhi was quoted as saying that whenever he had a problem Bhagavad Gita offered an answer and the solution. For a student of psychology Bhagavad Gita offers a valuable case study for lessons in psychotherapy – resolution of conflict and successful resumption of action from a state of acute anxiety and guilt laden depression that precipitated inaction.

This presentation makes a humble attempt to discuss the therapy process involved in Bhagavad Gita in which Lord Krishna helped the grief-stricken Arjuna through dialogue and discussion. The focus would be on the conflict and diagnosis of patient, the background setting of the situation, personality of patient, technique of therapy, underlying psychological concepts/ principles/theories, the Guru - Sishya concept, etc.

Bhagavad Gita is part of the great epic Mahabharatha, a widely popular mythological story in Hindu philosophy; part of Bhishma Parva, Gita is almost in its entirety the dialogue between two individuals, Lord Krishna (considered as incarnation of Bhagawan

Vishnu, Narayana) and Arjuna (the Pandava prince, Nara) in the battle field (war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas, the cousins, for control of the kingdom of Hasthinapura) of Kurukshetra. It has 18 yogas (chapters), with about 701 slokas (short poems), the first one being “Arjuna Vishada Yoga” (Sorrow of Arjuna) and the last one “Moksha Sanyasa Yoga”(Nirvana and Renunciation).

I would urge the reader to understand the Bhagavad Gita in whatever which way and wisdom he/she would like depending on their belief systems and cultural-religious background. A fiction story or a piece of history dating back to about 4000-5000 B.C. or part of mythology dictated by Sage VedaVyasa and written by Lord Ganesha! What is more important and relevant is

NOT WHAT IT IS BUT WHAT TRANSPIRED

in those 18 chapters of Bhagavad Gita; the process and content of the dialogue; its usefulness as a model of counseling and possible contemporary application value to current day psychological therapies, specially, but need not be limited to, in the Indian context.

The fact of interest for the student of Psychology psychology lies embedded in the dialogue between these two slokas:

- Sishyasthe Aham Sadhi Mam Tvam Prapannam

(I am your disciple, Guide me, Help me)[1 II chapter….3] rd Sloka

- Nasto mohah Smrtir labdha Tvat Prasadan mayachyuta Sthithosmi gata-Sandehaha Karishye Vachanam tava

XVIII chapter…..73 (“Clouds” have cleared; my senses are back, all your gift with my doubts vanished, Ready to act as you direct) rd Sloka

The 3rd sloka of 2nd chapter is depiction of the helpless state of Arjuna praying Lord Krishna for help. The 73rd Sloka of 18th chapter is reflection of dissolution of anxiety, worry, depression and guilt and preparedness for action with confidence and vigor. Whatever transpired between the 3rd sloka of 2nd chapter and the 73rd sloka of the 18th chapter is the matter of scientific curiosity for every student of psychology as it resulted in the total relief from the distress.

Now the scientific questions can be:

- Do we have any lessons from this?
- Can we develop a model of therapy from these lessons?
- ? Relevance of this model to current day practice
- How useful this approach can be and in which problem?
- What could be the limitations of this approach?

Counseling/psychotherapy is essential and an integral component of psychiatric interventions in the management of a patient with psychological distress/disease. The psychotherapeutic models available are developed and imported from the western literature. The applicability and usefulness of these models in the Indian context was discussed with some skepticism keeping in mind the varying cultural, religious, spiritual, societal attitudes (broadly described as eastern/oriental culture) by psychiatrists in the past.[24 The Guru-Chela concept, as a model in psychotherapy, popularized by Dr. Neki gets widely debated in the Indian context. Eminent Indian psychiatrists and psychologists discussed and proposed Bhagavad Gita as a source and model to develop psychotherapeutic concepts suitable to Indian context. (Of course,

the eastern/oriental/Indianness of the 21st century Indian can be a matter of speculation and debate).

I. *DHARMA*

As discussed, knowledge of the true nature of things and responding to the world based on that understanding creates the best disposition of mind. The science of doing this is called *dharma*.

In the introduction *dharma* was defined as:

"The correct choice in any circumstances to ensure the healthiest affect on the mind is called *dharma*. This very subtle science of prescribed action (*dharma*) is elaborately described in *sastra*."

Dharma is subtle because it is prescribed according to one's individual nature, which varies from person to person. In fact, it varies right from birth where a fraction of an almost unlimited stock of a person's past karma, including strong *samskaras*, is funneled into one's particular field of activities (the gross and subtle bodies).

Dharma is thus always done in careful consideration of one's individual nature, although certain actions are obviously more universal prescriptions, such as *The Ten Commandments* or the *yamas* (moral restraints) of the *Yoga Sutras*.

An example of this principle of *dharma* being prescribed according to one's nature, and not universally applied, is the appropriate response to the objects of sex desire. Like all potential responses to pleasure, the first consideration is the degree of one's attachment towards the object of that pleasure.

Thus if sexual attraction is at a depth where it cannot be transcended, then *dharma* is to act on that desire, but under careful regulation, in this case limiting the fulfillment of sex desire at the

least to the sphere of marriage, if not solely for procreation. If the depth of one's attachment is minimal, however, *dharma* is the opposite, renunciation of those desires. The same paradigm is applicable to all prescriptions of *dharma*—attachments that cannot be transcended have to be carefully worked through according to prescribed regulation. The result is also the same —the mind is favorably transformed by carefully doing one's duty.

An especially important application of this model of action is the choice of suitable work. Occupation is an activity that occupies most of our day and thus a key element in how the mind forms itself. When our work is lined up with our inborn nature and done in the proper way, when it is *dharma*, the mind is positively transformed. When it is not, one is frustrated.

Day after day tolerating boredom or frustration due to occupational work against one's nature can easily activate either a strong desire for unwarranted indulgence in sense pleasure or excessive inactivity. Unfortunately, such desires must be carried home for fulfillment often crimping in mode and time our ability to put our mind towards direct spiritual practice.

Positive mental transformation, for most, cannot be separated from a socio-occupational system designed to provide both meaningful work (*varna*) and an appropriate and supportive social status (*ashram*). Such a system, such as the social structure that was an ideal for Classical Indian society , was also best supported by a simple agrarian based economy. Its purpose was not only to supply suitable psychophysical occupational and social engagement, but to free one's time and energy for spiritual practices geared for direct mental transformation.

Although modern society is not particularly structured to support mental health or spiritual growth, and one often finds oneself in stressful occupational and social situations , one seeking to maximize mental and spiritual development cannot neglect a holistic approach, one that seeks, as far as possible, to align one's social and occupational life with one's psychophysical nature.

In summary, there are two choices for incorrect action (*adharma*) and two choices for correct action (*dharma*):

Incorrect action 1: To impulsively indulge one's unhealthy attachments. Such action is in the mode of ignorance and molds the mind accordingly.

Incorrect action 2: To repress one's desires whimsically. By doing so one's mind is occupied further by those attachments leading to frustration, anger, and bewilderment. Repression thus also eventually molds the mind towards ignorance, the worst mode.

Correct action 1: To satisfy one's attachments by prescribed regulation. Regulation affords one the advantage of both the satisfaction and renunciation of desire. By prescribing conditions to fulfill desire, one not only thinks less of those desires, but avoids the foibles of repression. Regulation also means that beyond the limited prescription for enjoyment, one is renouncing passions, thus ruling them by goodness and gradually moving the mind towards that mode.

Correct action 2: To renounce the object of the senses by one qualified to do so. By renunciation at the level of true indifference, one attains the platform of dispassion, and quickly brings the mind to its most purified state.

Suitable mentors must thus not only clearly know that one is not the body, but they must help people understand what the body is. If one is not able to reasonably assess a person's level of attachment, but is only able to highlight the duality between mind and body, action cannot be prescribed in a way that fosters a peaceful and functional mind, either for living in the world or for pursuing transcendence. Such guides must also be qualified to inspire and teach renunciation to gradually move people towards that goal.

II. *PROGRAMMING*

Regardless of one's level of renunciation, one can learn to program or condition the mind to give up bad habits and to develop good ones. This is described in the *Yoga Sutras* as consciously supplanting bad *samskaras* with good ones.

To understand how programming works, one should first understand the duality between pleasure and happiness, that *samskaras* that may give momentary pleasure, such as intoxication and fault-finding, also simultaneously mold the mind towards distress.

Understanding this duality, one can then program the mind to supplant the *samskaras* impelling one to indulge in a bad habit by associating it with ones that highlight the suffering it causes. For example, one may give up smoking by regularly visualizing the distress caused by it, such as lung disease and the lack of character such addictions reflect, so that eventually a healthy *samskara* of aversion (smoking is bad) supersedes the unhealthy imprint of attachment (smoking is good).

As one can displace the root of a bad habit by creating a distressful imprint in the mind, one can also uproot a bad habit by nurturing

another attachment that gives one more pleasure, but sits in opposition to that tendency. For instance, one can be attached to being truthful and then vow to never smoke. Every time one then desires to smoke, the desire for truthfulness is activated, overpowering the craving to smoke. Of course, this is provided that the *samskara* for honesty is deeper than the samskara for smoking, or whatever bad habit one is trying to overcome.

These are just simple examples to illustrate how the mind can be programmed or conditioned to change one's nature. They also illustrate the importance of integrity. Integrity means to make one's thoughts and actions one or integral with one's principles. A strong taste for honesty makes it so much easier to undergo the discipline required for transformation.

Without such integrity, our commitment to overcome bad habits will often be rationalized away. Yoga psychology is thus always accompanied by a culture that diligently programs honesty, by the values it stresses, the exemplars it promotes and the literature it recommends.

Again, although we may be at a disadvantage in the modern world where good *samskaras*, such as integrity, are generally not sufficiently cultured, it doesn't mean that we can't find practical means to program the mind to be true to our principles. For example, one can still consciously seek exemplars in character.

Exemplars in character, those who have strong attachment to principles, are one of the most powerful ways to instill impressions of character, especially if one can develop a relationship of respect and service to such persons. We naturally try to give up habits that are antithetical to the lives of those we admire. One can also hear about such people, especially if they are saints of the past.

Of course, the ability to subdue passions is also affected by the strength of the habit we are trying to control. When such imprints have become extremely deep by repeated reinforcement, they are called addictions. At that level they forcibly supersede good judgment and take a more concerted effort to overcome.

In that regard, the 12-step program is an apparently successful method of overcoming addictions. An interesting study would be an analysis of exactly how that is accomplished in terms of yoga psychology, especially in terms of programming. From those I have known in the midst of such programs, it is clear to me that it is an ingenuous way of superseding very deep, bad *samskaras* by strongly reinforcing and creating good ones, such as humility, integrity, the distress of bad habits, the pleasure of good habits, and respect for exemplars of non-addiction. I am especially intrigued by the spiritual aspect of the program. By admitting one's helplessness (the first step) and petitioning a higher power (the second step) one creates or reinforces the good *samskaras* of humility and dependence. Such qualities allow one to experience affection, which strikes against the root of all addiction—the lack of memory in the subconscious of nurturing that fosters depression and impels one to mistakenly fill that void of happiness with repeated sensual stimulation.

To transform the mind it must be reconditioned. Yoga psychology, by describing how the mind works, offers a working model of how to positively program the mind.

III. *SPIRITUAL PRACTICE (SADHANA)*

The objective of yoga psychology is not just to stabilize the mind, but to perfect it. This was described in the introduction:

"Yoga psychology deals with the transformation and stabilization of the mind, not as an end in itself, but as means to attain a higher state of consciousness beyond the mind where the *purusa*, or soul, imbibes in its own pure nature."

To attain that state, however, the support of the mind is necessary. The mind is called *antar-karanam*, the internal instrument. Like all instruments, the mind requires tuning or sharpening to function best. To succeed in spiritual life, one must therefore gradually mold the mind to higher forms of cognition.

In terms of transforming the mind, we have already discussed the importance of properly structuring our environment and adhering to moral actions within our day to day lives. To achieve optimum transformation and ultimate transcendence, however, it is of utmost importance to reserve a time and place to exclusively engage with the mind for the purpose of transforming it. Such a prescribed exercise is called *sadhana*, or spiritual practice. The foundation of *sadhana* is meditation.

To understand how meditation transforms the mind, one first has to understand its goal — to bring the mind to its pure state. This state can be compared to the original condition of a perfectly tuned instrument where its maximum potential is realized. The mind thus functions best in *sattva*, the most wholesome state of matter. In other words, in *sattva* the discriminating ability of the mind is sharpened to the degree where the soul can perfectly distinguish itself from its encasement, the mind and body. In terms of this ability to foster true perception, this optimum state can also be compared to a properly formed and thoroughly cleansed lens.

Spiritual practice is thus the process of cleansing the mirror of the mind of its distortions, called *vrttis* or thoughts, especially those born

of passion and ignorance, which like a distorted lens skew the soul's vision. Meditation accomplishes this by the practice of undeviating concentration on a single object of focus. By such focus for an uninterrupted and prolonged time, all other fluctuations of the mind, which distort the natural lucidity of *sattva*, are neglected and thus quelled, especially when that practice is accompanied by *vairagya*, a rigorous cultivation of dispassion towards those impulses.

IV. *BHAKTI*

So far we have discussed transformation based on individual effort. The path of *bhakti* adds the aspect of grace to our discussion, help beyond individual effort. Grace thus implies the conviction in a unique supremely potent and omniscient soul, a being with total power to direct the laws of nature and thus cleanse one's mind simply by grace. *Bhakti* as a process of transformation is thus the act of giving oneself to God in devotion and petitioning that grace.

Patanjali Muni indirectly alludes to the path of grace in the *Yoga Sutras*. In the first chapter, he describes *isvara pranidhana* (surrender to the Lord) as an optional method of meditation and also outlines its main practice—chanting mantras such as *aum*, which are not only signifiers of the Lord, but non-different from Him and full of spiritual potency. In the chapter that follows, he outlines "surrender to the Lord" in a somewhat different context, as one of the six mandatory moral observances that are prerequisite for meditation. Also listed there are the different benefits of adhering to each of the six classic moral observances including *samadhi*, the benefit of perfectly practicing *isvara pranidhana*. *Samadhi*, full spiritual trance, is the goal of meditation. As "surrender to the Lord" is the lone moral observance paired with a spiritual result, and also the only object of meditation that is an

active transformative agent, it is also logically the inferred choice for meditation. Commenting on *isvara pranidhana*, Vyasa, the main commentator on the *Yoga Sutras*, directly confirms why "simply by the yogi's longing, God bestows His grace upon the yogi. When this happens the fruit's of samadhi becomes quickly available."

Bhakti as a process of transformation in relation to grace as described in the *Yoga Sutras* thus works something as follows:

By repetition of the Lord's names and thinking of their meaning, which is a call to surrender, devotion naturally arises in the heart. Imbued with devotion, the presence of the Lord is then naturally felt everywhere until thoughts of devotion pervade the mind. The Lord, in reciprocation, naturally bestows His grace upon such a devoted soul by awarding him or her *samadhi*, but without the same effort usually required to attain such a wholesome state.

In this sense, the process of *bhakti* works through the transformation of the material mind as other processes do. Sri Caitanya, certainly one of the most prominent proponents of the *Bhakti* tradition, thus declares in the first verse of His seminal composition *Siksastakam*, "*ceto darapana marjanam*" –that chanting cleanses (*marjanam*) the mind (*ceto*), which is like a mirror (*darpanam*). In ways, this is a classical yogic description of attaining samadhi, where the material mind of the embodied soul regains its pure condition where the soul can be reflected on it without distortion, the stage before one transcends the corporeal sphere altogether.

Of course, how the mind recovers its pure condition on the path of *bhakti*, and how it does so in other processes, is also quite different. On the path of *bhakti*, real devotion, selfless devotion, is not just a mental or physical activity, but an expression of the

soul. Thus unlike other paths, which work, so to speak, from the outside in, that is they deal directly with the transformation of mind as a way to achieve pure inner awareness, *bhakti* is the opposite. *Bhakti* is first a rousing of the soul with devotion that then purifies the mind. In other words, as consciousness flows through the sheaths of the conditioned soul to animate it, including the mind, when that consciousness is awakened to its true nature of selfless devotion, the mind is gradually transformed to more and more conducive states for higher realization. This transformation thus happens simultaneously as *bhakti* imbues the soul with devotion:

"Devotion, direct experience of the Supreme Lord, and detachment from other things—these three occur simultaneously for one who has taken shelter of the Supreme Personality of Godhead, in the same way that pleasure, nourishment, and relief from hunger come simultaneously and increasingly, with each bite, for a person engaged in eating." (*Bhag* 11.1.42)

Obviously, the degree to which *bhakti* inspires the soul and transforms the mind depends on the purity of our practice and our level of devotion. Real transformative devotion is thus *rag bhakti*, where attachment (*rag*) to the Lord, not just obligation and duty, is the motivating force for our action.

Bhakti, action done with pure love for God, is thus a powerful transformative agent as it invokes grace, stirs the soul, and flows naturally away from egoism and exploitation, the core obstacles to yoga. In *Bhagavad-gita* it is thus deemed the best of transformative paths.

Summary

Yoga psychology gives a practical, workable, and holistic paradigm for transformation, which thoroughly explains the effect of one's nature, actions, environment and heartfelt devotion on the development of a healthy mind.

The prime source for my study of yoga psychology was the recently published "*The Yoga Sutras of Patanjali*" by Dr. Edwin Bryant, North Point Press, which is not only a translation of the *Yoga Sutras*, but is a translation and commentary on all the major commentators on the *Yoga Sutras* as well. I began this paper before the book was officially published, so I would like to personally thank Professor Bryant for sharing with me, in advance, some excerpts of his work. The author is not only an established academic, but a long time student and practitioner of yoga as well, which makes for an especially insightful and readable translation and commentary.

ii. *Bhagavad-gita*, 6.5

iii. *Yoga Sutras* 1.5

iv. Inherent in most systems of Indian yogic thought, and most methods of mental health, is the concept that distress lies not in reality, but in our perception of it,, and thus mentors by carefully freeing us from ignorance also make us more mentally healthy.

v. An example would be a young child who has bad experiences with his parents and thus develops a bad impression towards all authority and who then distrust all elders, even kinds ones.

vi. Problems of restoring mental health were also dealt with in the social structure, including family and priests. Extremely serious mental problems were also dealt with by certain types of tantrics.

vii. *Bhagavad-gita*, 14.1

viii. In Indian time there are 36 48-minute divisions called *muhurtas*. The *brahma muhurta*, the 48 minutes before sunrise, was considered the most conducive for spiritual life.

ix. Cleanliness is the object of sight in the mode of goodness and will naturally make one more peaceful and clear minded.

x. Yoga is generally considered part of the path of *jnana*.

Psychological knowledge of Buddhism

Buddhist psychology is primarily about self-knowledge- finding out more about who you are, understanding your decisions, actions, thoughts, feelings, etc. It is an expression of the Delphic dictum *Know Thyself* and the injunction that transformative spiritual paths throughout time and geography have demanded as the central ingredient in authentic happiness.

Buddhist psychology is 'radical,' as it aims to challenge your worldview (as all authentic spirituality and psychology does). It is radical in that it addresses the basis or foundation of our psychological functioning, our sense of who we are, and our relationships with others and with the world. As a result, the fruit of applying the psychological insights of the Buddha requires diligence, perseverance and discernment as they will naturally encounter the resistances and obstacles inherent in our conditioned nature.

It is not a coincidence that Buddhism finds itself so welcome in the western world since the last decades of the preceding century. While the appeal certainly includes those who have converted to Buddhism as a faith and have adopted the practices, liturgies and meditations of whatever form of Buddhism speaks to them, the more unique and far-reaching impact of Buddhism, as a psychology,

has taken place in academia and among clinical researchers, who have observed that the Buddhist understanding of consciousness, mind, behavior, motivation, personality and psychopathology bear a close resemblance to perspectives held in western psychology and psychotherapy.

While the Buddha was not a psychiatrist or psychologist in the formal sense of the word, the vast majority of his recorded teachings, are explicitly concerned with the sources of emotional suffering and their amelioration. No doubt there is much, much more to Buddhism than the psychology he elucidates.

Yet, an argument will be made that these more 'religious' elements, for the want of a better word, or possibly 'experience-far' aspects, are of appeal to those who seek a religious Buddhism, a Buddhism that provides for a level of faith and understanding that speaks to the needs of their heart, but which can be separated out, and set aside, for those who do not seek such a religious experience (possibly content with their own existing faith, or with none at all) but who rather wish to deepen their self-knowledge and happiness.

It is these experience-near or psychological Buddhism that speaks loudly in the West and which may be anticipated to be the legacy of the Buddhist encounter with the West.

Let's examine some of the confluences of Western and Buddhist psychology. There is certainly a high degree of overlap in goals and content areas of both disciplines that focus directly on understanding human behavior, the source or conditions for unhappiness and ways to reduce, attenuate or even eliminate such unhappiness. Indeed the Buddhist corpus has extensive psychological writings- very explicit and detailed- and not found in other religious traditions. Thus it is not surprising that some aspect

of Buddhist psychology has been of interest to those professions in the west dedicated to alleviating human suffering: medicine, psychiatry, psychology, nursing, social work.

The professional journals for each of these disciplines have published so much scientific research (especially related to mindfulness practice) that to fully describe the studies would require a book in itself. The Dalai Lama has explicitly encouraged interaction between western disciplines to further establish links with science and clinical practice. The Mind and Life Institute is an expression of this venture of cooperation.

Elements of Buddhist psychology have been integrated into psychotherapeutic practices for a variety of psychopathological conditions, including depression, anxiety, addiction and stress. Scientific writers from the entire range of clinical psychology and psychiatry, ranging from psychoanalysis to cognitive to behavioral to humanistic theory, have all addressed aspects of Buddhist psychology. Not surprising, the Buddhist traditions that have been of greatest appeal to western science and psychology have been those that appear to contain a higher proportion of experience-near aspects (Theravadin, Zen) because they carry much less religious baggage and more easily translated into Western concepts. Less impactful has been the teachings of Mahayana and Tibetan or tantric Buddhism which include a strong element of experience-far teachings and thus are more difficult to translate into concepts that are digestible by the western mind. Nevertheless, even these traditions reflect a more esoteric psychology that does find resonance in the West and which full certainly continue to attract significant interest

Buddha was primarily an ethical teacher and reformer, not a metaphysician. He disliked metaphysical discussions devoid of practical utility. Instead of discussing metaphysical questions, which are ethically useless and intellectually uncertain, Buddha always tried to enlighten persons on the most important questions of sorrow, its origin, its cessation and the path leading to its cessation. The answers to these four questions constitute the essence of the Buddha's enlightenment. These have come to be known as four noble truths. They are:

(a) Life is full of suffering (*Duhkha*),

(b) There is a cause of this suffering (*Duhkha-samudaya*),

(c) It is possible to stop suffering (*Duhkha-nirodha*),

(d) There is a way to extinguish suffering (*Duhkha-nirodha-marga*).

The first noble truth is life full of suffering. The very essential conditions of life appeared to be fraught with suffering-birth, old age, disease, death, sorrow, grief, wish, despair, in short, all that is born of attachment, is suffering. The second noble truth is that there is a cause of this suffering. Suffering is due to attachment. Attachment is one translation of the word trishna, which can also be translated as thirst, desire, lust, craving, or clinging. Another aspect of attachment is dvesha, which means avoidance or hatred. A third aspect of attachment is avidya, meaning ignorance.

Buddha preaches about the chain of 12 links in the cause and maintenance of suffering. These chain of causes and effects lead to sufferings in the world. The suffering in life is due to birth, which is due to the will to be born, which again is due to our mental clinging to objects. Clinging again is due to thirst or desire for objects. This again is due to sense-experience, which is due to sense-object-

contact, which again is due to the six organs of cognition. These organs are dependent on the embryonic organism (composed of mind and body), which again could not develop without some initial consciousness, which again hails from the impressions of the experience of past life, which lastly are due to ignorance of truth. These constitute the wheel of existence (bhaba-chakra): Birth and rebirth.

The third noble truth about suffering is that suffering can be extinguished. Nirvana is the state of being wherein all clinging, and so all suffering, can be eliminated here, in this very life. Buddha pointed out that work without attachment, hatred and infatuation (rāga, dveṣa, moha) does not cause bondage. The fourth noble truth about suffering is that there is a path (marga)-which Buddha followed and others can similarly follow-to reach to a state free from misery. He called it the Eightfold Path to liberation.

Eightfold Path (astangika-marga): This gives, in a nutshell, the essentials of 'Buddha Ethics'. This Path is open to all, monks as well as laymen. The first two segments of the path are referred to as prajña, meaning wisdom: Right views-understanding the Four Noble Truths, especially the nature of all things as imperfect, impermanent, and insubstantial and our self-inflicted suffering as founded in clinging, hate, and ignorance.Right resolve/aspiration-having the true desire/determination to free oneself from attachment, hatefulness, and ignorance.

The next three segments of the path provide more detailed guidance in the form of moral precepts, called 'sila':[

Right speech-Abstaining from lying, gossiping, and hurtful speech generally. Speech is often our ignorance made manifest, and is the most common way in which we harm others. Right action/conduct-

Right conduct includes the 'Pancha-Sila', the five vows for desisting from killing, stealing, sensuality, lying and intoxication. Right livelihood-Making one's living in an honest, non-hurtful way.

The last three segments of the path are the ones Buddhism is most famous for, and concern samadhi or meditation. Despite the popular conception, without wisdom and morality, meditation is worthless, and may even be dangerous. Right effort - Taking control of your mind and the contents thereof, effort to develop good mental habits. When bad thoughts and impulses arise, they should be abandoned. This is done by watching the thought without attachment, recognizing it for what it is and letting it dissipate. Good thoughts and impulses, on the other hand, should be nurtured and enacted.Right mindfulness - Mindfulness refers to a kind of meditation (vipassana) involving an acceptance of thoughts and perceptions, a "bare attention" to these events without attachment. This mindfulness is to be extended to daily life as well. It becomes a way of developing a fuller, richer awareness of life. Right concentration - One who has successfully guided his life in the life of last seven rules and thereby freed himself from all passions and evil thoughts is fit to enter into deeper stages of concentration that gradually take him to the goal of his long and arduous journey – cessation of suffering.

Right concentration, through four stages, is the last step in the path that leads to the goal-nirvana.

(i) The 1st stage of concentration is on reasoning and investigation regarding the truths. There is then a joy of pure thinking.

(ii) The 2nd stage is unruffled meditation even free from reasoning. There is then a joy of tranquillity.

(iii) The 3rd stage of concentration is detachment from even the joy of tranquillity. There is then indifference to even such joy but a feeling of a bodily case still persists.

(iv) The 4th and final stage of concentration is detachment from this bodily case too. There are then perfect equanimity and indifference. This is the state of nirvana or perfect wisdom. This is the highest form of Buddhist meditation, and full practice of it is usually restricted to monks and nuns who have progressed considerably along the path.

BUDDHISM AND WESTERN PSYCHOLOGY

Assessment of Buddhism in terms of modern western psychology started when British Indologist Rhys Davids translated *Abhidhamma Pitaka* from Pali and Sanskrit texts in 1900. She published the book entitled it, “Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics”. In 1914, she wrote another book “Buddhist psychology: An inquiry into the analysis and theory of mind”.

The mid-twentieth century saw the collaborations between many psychoanalysts and Buddhist scholars as a meeting between “two of the most powerful forces” operating in the Western mind. A variety of renowned teachers, clinicians and writers in the west such as Carl Jung, Erich Fromm, Alan Watts, Tara Brach, Jack Kornfield, Joseph Goldstein, and Sharon Salzberg among others have attempted to bridge and integrate psychology and Buddhism, from time to time, in a manner that offers meaning, inspiration and healing to the common man's suffering.

Buddhism and Western Psychology overlap in theory and in practice. Over the last century, experts have written on many commonalities between Buddhism and the various branches of

modern western psychology like phenomenological psychology, psychoanalytical psychotherapy, humanistic psychology, cognitive psychology and existential psychology.

Buddhism and phenomenological psychology

Any assessment of Buddhism in terms of psychology is necessarily a modern western invention. Western and Buddhist scholars have found in Buddhist teachings a detailed introspective phenomenological psychology. Rhys Davids in her book “Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics” wrote, “Buddhist philosophy is ethical first and last. Buddhism set itself to analyze and classify mental processes with remarkable insight and sagacity”. Buddhism's psychological orientation is a theme Rhys Davids pursued for decades as evidenced by her other writings.

Abhidhamma Pitaka articulates a philosophy, a psychology, and ethics as well; all integrated into the framework of a program for liberation. The primary concern of the *Abhidhamma* (or Abhidharma in Sanskrit), is to understand the nature of experience, and thus the reality on which it focuses is conscious reality. For this reason, the philosophical enterprise of the *Abhidhamma* shades off into a phenomenological psychology.

Later on long-term efforts to integrate Abhidhammic psychology with Western empirical sciences have been carried out by other leaders such as Chogyam Trungpa Rinpoche and the 14th Dalai Lama.

In introduction to his 1975 book, *Glimpses of the Abhidharma*, Chogyam Trungpa Rinpoche wrote: “Many modern psychologists have found that the discoveries and explanations of the abhidharma coincide with their own recent discoveries and new ideas; as though

the abhidharma, which was taught 2,500 years ago, had been redeveloped in the modern idiom".

Every two years, since 1987, the Dalai Lama has convened "Mind and Life" gatherings of Buddhists and scientists. Reflecting on one Mind and Life session in March 2000, psychologist Daniel Goleman, the author of the best-selling "Emotional Intelligence" and "Destructive Emotions: A Scientific Dialogue with the Dalai Lama" noted; "since the time of Gautama Buddha in the 5 th century BC, an analysis of the mind and its workings has been central to the practices of his followers. This analysis was codified during the first millennium, after his death within the system called *Abhidhamma* (or Abhidharma in Sanskrit), which means ultimate doctrine".

Buddhism and existential Psychology

Buddha said that life is suffering. Existential psychology speaks of *ontological anxiety* (dread, angst). Buddha said that suffering is due to attachment. Existential psychology also has some similar concepts. We cling to things in the hope that they will provide us with a certain benefit. Buddha said that suffering can be extinguished. The Buddhist concept of nirvana is quite similar to the existentialists' freedom. Freedom has, in fact, been used in Buddhism in the context of freedom from rebirth or freedom from the effects of karma. For the existentialist, freedom is a fact of our being, one which we often ignore. Finally, Buddha says that there is a way to extinguish suffering. For the existential psychologist, the therapist must take an assertive role in helping the client become aware of the reality of his or her suffering and its roots. Likewise, the client must take an assertive role in working towards improvement– even though it means facing the fears they've been working so hard

to avoid, and especially facing the fear that they will “lose” themselves in the process.

Psychological knowledge of Sufism

The mystics drew their vocabulary largely from the Qurʾān, which for Muslims contains all divine wisdom and has to be interpreted with ever-increasing insight. In the Qurʾān, mystics found the threat of the Last Judgment, but they also found the statement that God “loves them and they love him,” which became the basis for love-mysticism. Strict obedience to the religious law and imitation of the Prophet were basic for the mystics. By rigid introspection and mental struggle, the mystic tried to purify his baser self from even the smallest signs of selfishness, thus attaining *ikhlāṣ*, absolute purity of intention and act. *Tawakkul* (trust in God) was sometimes practiced to such an extent that every thought of tomorrow was considered irreligious. “Little sleep, little talk, little food” were fundamental; fasting became one of the most important preparations for the spiritual life.

The central concern of the Sufis, as of every Muslim, was *tawḥīd* the witness that “there is no deity but God.” This truth had to be realized in the existence of each individual, and so the expressions differ: early Sufism postulated the approach to God through love and voluntary suffering until a unity of will was reached; Junayd spoke of “recognizing God as He was before creation”; God is seen as the One and only actor; He alone “has the right to say ‘I’.”
Later, *tawḥīd* came to mean the knowledge that there is nothing existent but God, or the ability to see God and creation as two aspects of one reality, reflecting each other and depending upon each other (*waḥdat al-wujūd*).

The mystics realized that beyond the knowledge of outward sciences intuitive knowledge was required in order to receive that illumination to which reason has no access. *Dhawq*, direct "tasting" of experience, was essential for them. But the inspirations and "unveilings" that God grants such mystics by special grace must never contradict the Qurʾān and tradition and are valid only for the person concerned.

Even the Malāmatīs, who attracted public contempt upon themselves by outwardly acting against the law, in private life strictly followed the divine commands. Mystics who expressed in their poetry their disinterest in, and even contempt of, the traditional formal religions never forgot that Islam is the highest man festation of divine wisdom.

Sufism is considered the inner dimension of Islam and is based on the teachings of the Prophet Mohammad (pbuh) and the holy Qur'an. Sufi psychology is the application of Sufism. Expressions of the basic concepts vary, sometimes radically, between Sunni and Shi'a Muslims and between the various Sufi orders (See Fadiman and Frager 1997; Geoffroy 2010; Grisell 1983; Lings 1993).

The goal of Sufism and Sufi psychology is unified oneness, in which every aspect of one's being is unified in harmony. It is based on the concept *La ilaha illa Allah*, which means there is only one God. The Prophet taught through his actions that whatever exists in one individual has to come to one point and present itself. When this occurs, the absolute knowledge of oneness with Existence is attained. Called Irfan, derived from the word ma'rifa meaning cognition (Angha 2002b), Sufism is considered the science of the soul.

Beginning in 1945, Yusuf Murad, an academic psychologist and purveyor of the Freudian and psychoanalytic tradition, published a dictionary of terms that provided the Arabic equivalents to English, French and German terms in the fields of psychology and psychoanalysis.

Freud's concept of the 'unconscious' merited special attention. The Arabic term became Ibn Arabi's redolent *al-la-shu'ur*, discussed in his classic, *The Bezels of Wisdom*. Ibn Arabi's poetic and elliptical work had fascinated readers for centuries, just as it fascinated 20th-century Arab Freudians. In the *Bezels*, Ibn Arabi relates the parable of Abraham, whom God visits in a dream and tells to sacrifice his son. According to Ibn Arabi, sleep and dreams occur in the plane of the imagination (*hadrat al-khayal*) and must be subject to interpretation.

his conception of reality as being at once an unreality, while at the same time *not* an illusion at all, brings to light another concept intimately connected to psychoanalysis, the concept of the Imaginary. The Imaginary is greatly elaborated in the later psychoanalytic tradition, most notably by Jacques Lacan – Lacan had read about Ibn Arabi by way of Corbin.

As the religious studies scholar William Chittick elaborates, Ibn Arabi perceived the Imaginal world as an intermediate realm, a world in between the spiritual and the corporeal. As Lacan would later do, Ibn Arabi theorised the example of one's own reflection in the mirror. Is my image in the mirror real or unreal? In one sense it is, and in another sense it is not. This clarifies the nature of the Imaginary as both existent and non-existent.

The affinities between mystical Islam and Freudian thought are clear, and deep. But did Islamic thinkers make these connections

between psychoanalysis and Islam? They did, often pointing to the shared traditions of dream interpretation, as well as the shared technique of understanding texts and dreams through the relationship between the latent and manifest meaning of religious knowledge.

Islamic thinkers also recognised the uncanny resemblance between the analyst-analysand and the *shaykh* (or spiritual master)-disciple relation in Sufism. The mid-20th-century Egyptian Abu al-Wafa al-Ghunaymi al-Taftazani, a *shakyh* of a Sufi order and later a professor of Islamic philosophy and Sufism at Cairo University, began writing about Sufism in the 1950s. He was widely read in Egypt and beyond, and he often compared Sufism and the psychoanalytic tradition.

In particular, al-Taftazani noted that both Sufism and psychoanalysis relied upon an introspective method; both engaged not with the manifest content of the psyche or soul (*nafs*), but with its latent content, a domain often marked by sexual desires. Most importantly, both exhibited a concern for the *batin* or the realm of hidden meaning, as well as for the inner reaches of the unconscious (*al-la-shu'ur*).

The Sufi *shaykh*, much like the analyst, he observed, must ascertain unconscious thoughts and desires from his disciple, in order to facilitate a transformation of the self. Sufism and Freudianism were obviously closely related. Abd-al-Halim Mahmud, a scholar of Sufism who would eventually become Grand Imam of Al-Azhar, noted that 'every Sufi master is a "psychotherapist", so to speak'. The relationship between the Sufi *shaykh* and his disciple is, then, one of attunement with potential for psychotherapeutic transformation.

Sufi practitioners understood their struggle to be part of a larger battle between the noble and ignoble tendencies of man. Al-Taftazani emphasised that Sufis aimed to attain direct knowledge and love of God. They sought a mystical union with God, annihilating the ego-self, in which God remains as a sublime excess.

It was not, al-Taftazani pointed out, a subjective and individual self-exploration; it was a union with the divine. Freud would likely have seen Sufism as ‘nothing but psychology projected into the external world’, but to al-Taftazani and others it was as an ethical path toward the divine.

Psychological knowledge of Integral Yoga

All spiritual seeking moves towards an object of Knowledge to which ordinary man in his humdrum of life does not turn his eye. A state of knowledge where we can touch, enter, know by identity the Ineffable, Infinite, Indescribable Eternal. As mental beings we have to start from our ordinary instruments and objects mostly but thereafter suprasensuous and supramental means and faculties are needed, as what we are seeking is that `where the eyes cannot reach, nor speech, not even mind,...'In traditional systems, all cosmic existence is termed as ignorance. Absolute can only inhibit transcendental and non-cosmic existence. Thus, there is negation of individual and cosmic.

The aim of traditional object of knowledge is Nirvana, annihilation of ego; there actions are only those required for rites as per scriptures, and that too in early stages only. In severe *Jnanayoga* all actions are abandoned. Even worship and devotion are not required as for that you need some ‘other’ and with the rise of knowledge there is no other, there is only One. It relies exclusively on Intellect and

separates itself from all the rest, i.e. heart, body, life, senses. Undoubtedly thought is the faculty nearest to the Self, thought can regard all the activities and yet stand back from them all, it is less outward tended and more capable of quiescence, it is most constant, normal and effective means for enlightening his ignorance. Its functions of gathering and reflection, meditation, fixed contemplation, absorbed dwelling of the mind on the objects are all most tested and reliable ways of lessening the thick and heavy wall of ignorance.

In reality, thought only is a scout and pioneer, it can guide but not command or effectuate. The leader of the journey is the Will, *Tapas, Shakti*, and *Shraddha*, which sovereignly determine our orientation and of which the intellect and the heart are more or less blind and automatic servants and instruments. All activities proceed from this supreme Self and are determined by it. In these activities is expressed the conscious Will or *Shakti* of the spirit moved to manifest its being in infinite ways.

This Will is more profound and nearer to the Absolute than our surface thought power. To know that will in us and in the universe and follow it to its divine finalities, whatever these may be is the truest culmination for knowledge. Since thought is not the highest or strongest part of our nature, its exclusive satisfaction is not necessary in the integral Yoga, it has to see due satisfaction of other faculties as well.

The impulse towards Absolute is not just dry and abstract, not just straight line logical thinking, it is, in fact, more multi-sided, more complex, richly diverse and endless. An abstract logic can only reach infinite empty negation or equally infinite and vacant

affirmation. Heart, will, life and even the body are no lesser forms of the Conscious Being and are having great significance.

Psychological knowledge of Science and spirituality

Scientific interest in religious spirituality and mental health has increased dramatically. However, many researchers have tended to ignore the historic incompatibility between spirituality and traditional science. A review of the spirituality research suggests that important themes of this historic incompatibility persist in contemporary theories of spirituality. Yet, many spirituality researchers have proceeded as if this incompatibility did not exist. Indeed, there is evidence that spiritual conceptions have been altered to "fit" the requirements of science. No alteration would seem necessary if scientific method were a neutral tool of investigation that did not affect the conceptions themselves.

However, if method itself has philosophical commitments, and if these commitments are incompatible with the conceptual foundations of many conceptions of spirituality, then spirituality researchers may be undermining their own conceptions in the service of science. We outline the philosophical commitments of traditional scientific methods and the philosophical commitments of many contemporary conceptions of spirituality to begin a conversation about this possibility.

Examining the Relationship Between Religious

Spirituality and Psychological Science There has long been an interest in the relationship between religious spirituality and mental health. However, this interest has recently extended to the use of traditional scientific methods for examining this relationship (cf. Clay, 1996; Donohue, 1989; Shafranske, 1996).

This use of science to examine the spiritual is unprecedented, uniting two historically separate realms of knowledge and even methods.1 This unity, however, has been effected without much critical discussion. Calls for such discussion have been issued (e.g., Dennis, 1995; Gorsuch, 1988; Tjeltveit, 1989; Williams and Faulconer, 1994), but with certain exceptions (e.g., Jones, 1996; Richards & Bergin, 1997), these calls have not been heeded in the spirituality and mental health literature.

Critical examination is nevertheless required, because the philosophical commitments of traditional scientific method may conflict with the theoretical assumptions of many conceptions of spirituality (cf. Bergin, 1980; Ellis, 1980; Walls, 1980).

This conflict could lead to unintended and unfortunate consequences. There is evidence, for example, that some spirituality researchers alter, ignore, or fail to elaborate important conceptions of spirituality that are incompatible with the traditional philosophy of science (Slife, Nebeker, & Hope, 1996).

The present paper attempts to address these issues. The purpose of the paper is to begin laying the foundation for fertile theoretical discussion and productive empirical work in the important realm of spirituality. We feel that the first task in laying this foundation is one of clarification.

Therefore, we begin by describing the historical separation between science and spirituality. We focus our inquiry on religious spirituality to narrow the vast domain of spirituality to a manageable size. This focus also allows us to point to a more specific history and philosophy with which to compare the history and philosophy of science.

Our main point of departure for this comparison is modernism, both in its emphasis on method for evaluating truth claims and in its assumptions about the nature of the world. Interestingly, many contemporary spirituality researchers embrace modernist scientific methods but reject the naturalistic philosophical assumptions that underlie these methods in their conceptions of spirituality.

We characterize these researchers as antimodernists and attempt to begin a discussion of the appropriateness of their approach to spirituality research. This discussion cannot occur in any productive manner without considering alternative approaches, so relevant postmodernist assumptions are also outlined. First, however, historical context is needed.

A Brief History of the Separation of Science and Spirituality Historically, both spiritual and scientific knowledge have revolved around the issue of authority: Who or what has the authority to decide the truth? In the Middle ages, the authority for knowledge was primarily considered to be a "who"—God—with the priest or some other "instrument" as a sometimes fallible conduit for God's authority.

This authority involved not only what we would consider today to be "religious" or "spiritual" issues, but also what we would consider today to be "scientific" or "secular" issues. To give God authority especially over the latter types of knowledge, such as medicine, sounds strange to many today, but this strangeness is due to the intellectual movements that followed the Middle Ages—the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. These latter movements saw the church gradually lose its authority over general knowledge to two philosophical movements involving rigorous logic and systematic observation.

The first philosophical movement, known as Rationalism, held that the primary authority for truth is rationality or logic. If knowledge, including religious knowledge, did not stand up to the test of rigorous reasoning, then it was suspect. Most religions, however, were not founded upon totally rational systems of thought.

This historic conflict

This historic conflict has not been ignored by contemporary psychological researchers of spirituality (cf. Dennis, 1995; Jones, 1996). Still, a review of the relevant literature reveals that it has rarely been addressed or discussed in the light of present research practices. Jones (1996) and Dennis (1995) correctly note that a growing consensus of scholars has rejected this traditional philosophy of science (sometimes known as "positivism"). However, this rejection is rarely reflected in the research practices of mainstream researchers (cf.

Harmon, 1993, 1995; Slife & Williams, 1995; Slife & Williams, 1997), including, we contend, those researchers investigating spirituality.8 Indeed, it appears that most spirituality researchers have proceeded as if the assumptions and practices of traditional, positivistic science—including such practices as replication, reduction, and operationalization—do not conflict with the assumptions they make about spirituality.

Many researchers seem to have presumed that scientific method qua practice is a neutral or objective tool of inquiry into spirituality. However, relatively recent advancements in the philosophy of science cast doubt on this neutrality (Bohman, 1993; Dennis, 1995; Gadamer, 1993; Harmon, 1993; Jones, 1996; Polkinghorne, 1983; Robinson, 1985; cf. Slife & Williams, 1995).

Psychological knowledge of Avidya and Vidya

Lauren, a Los Angeles yoga teacher, slipped in a lunge while teaching and injured her ankle. Because she's a practice-through-the-pain kind of yogi, she didn't even stop to assess the injury before continuing her class. When she finally got to the doctor, she discovered she would have to stay off the ankle for at least a month.

For Lauren, this triggered a deep identity crisis. Since her teens, her strong body has been the source of her well-being, her self-esteem, and, in adulthood, her income. She can still teach, and her injury may even turn out to be an incentive to deepen her understanding of alignment. But because the "me" she has always felt herself to be is so tied to her physicality, the accident has left her deeply disoriented. Of course, she tells me impatiently, she knows she's not her body. But knowing that doesn't seem to cure her feelings of self-doubt and fear.

George has a different issue. His wife has told him she's involved with another man and wants to have an open marriage. George feels shocked, abandoned, and insecure, which leads him to thoughts like "I'm not good at relationships" and "I'm not lovable." Essentially, he feels the same disorientation that Lauren does. "I don't know who I am when the person I love doesn't want me," he says.

Avidya: An Identity Crisis

Deeper than the trauma itself, deeper even than the memories that may be contributing to their feeling of personal derailment, Lauren and George are both suffering from the core misunderstanding that the yogic texts call *avidya*—a basic ignorance of who we are and of

the underlying reality that connects everything in the universe. Their current situation is an opportunity for each of them to recognize this fundamental misperception—to look into the nature of identity itself.

When everything you have relied on seems to dissolve, you get not only a glimpse of the cracks in your psychological infrastructure but also a chance to examine the source of the problem, which gives you a better shot at getting free of it.

The Sanskrit word *vidya* means wisdom or knowledge—the wisdom earned through deep practice and experience. The prefix a indicates a lack or an absence. In the yogic sense, avidya means something that goes far beyond ordinary ignorance. Avidya is a fundamental blindness about reality.

The core ignorance we call avidya isn't a lack of information, but the inability to experience your deep connection to others, to the source of being, and to your true Self. Avidya has many layers and levels, which operate in different ways. We see it threaded through every aspect of our lives—in our survival strategies, our relationships, our cultural prejudices, the things we hunger for and fear. All forms of cluelessness and fogged perception are forms of avidya. But behind each of avidya's manifestations is the failure to recognize that essentially you are spirit, and that you share this with every atom of the universe.

For instance, one common way you can see avidya in action is in the habit of thinking that other people should treat you better or that you need someone's approval to feel good about yourself. You might "know" that this isn't true—that people often act without regard for the welfare of others and that making your self-esteem contingent on how others feel about you is a bit like trying to buy zucchini at the Gap.

If someone points out to you that you are responsible for your own inner state, you might think, "I know!" But knowing that truth intellectually doesn't change your feelings or behavior. It doesn't stop you from trying to cajole or manipulate your friends and partners and children into acting the way you think you "need" them to act—perhaps demanding continual reassurances of love from a partner, or looking for constant evidence of being needed. Intellectual knowledge alone doesn't have the practical power to help you. For that knowledge to become vidya, or true wisdom, you need to understand it on a visceral level. Until you do, you are suffering from avidya on the level of relationships, with all of the attendant discomfort and pain. And the same goes for every other type of avidya.

Identifying Avidya

In Patanjali's Yoga Sutra II.5, we are given four useful clues for identifying when we have slipped into avidya. Each clue points to a particular way in which we take surface perceptions for reality. It cautions us to look deeper—to inquire beneath what our physical senses or cultural prejudices or egoic belief structures tell us. "Avidya," the sutra says, "is to mistake the impermanent for the eternal, the impure for the pure, sorrow for happiness, and the not-Self for the true Self."

If you explore this sutra, it can lead you to a profound reflection on the illusory nature of perception. Even a casual look at history reveals that each advance in science and culture has called into question beliefs that our ancestors took for granted—everything from the idea that Earth is the center of the solar system to the notion that matter is solid. The primary purpose of the sutra is to

question our notions of identity. But, at the same time, it offers a window into some of our garden-variety forms of cluelessness.

Notice how Patanjali's definition applies to so many levels of ignorance. Mistaking the perishable for the imperishable? That's the everyday denial that keeps people believing they can depend on fossil fuels indefinitely, or jog on asphalt without damaging their cartilage. It's that hopeful belief that your romantic passion will last forever, or that another person's love will give you security. On a deeper level, it's what keeps you from seeing that your conception of "me"—"my personality," "my self"—is not stable and is certainly not permanent, that just as your body is an ever-shifting configuration of atoms, so your internal sense of self consists of thoughts about who you are (as in "I'm pretty" or "I'm confused"), feelings like happiness or restlessness, and moods such as depression or hopefulness—all of which are subject to change.

Practicing Awareness of Avidya

Taken together, these flavors of avidya cause you to live in a kind of trance state—aware of what's obvious on the surface but unable to recognize the underlying reality. Since this personal trance is fully supported by the beliefs and perceptions of the culture around you, it's difficult for most of us even to recognize the existence of the veil. To fully dismantle avidya is the deep goal of yoga, and it demands a radical shift of consciousness. But the good news is that just recognizing that you're entranced is to begin to wake up from the dream. And you can begin to free yourself from its more egregious manifestations by simply being willing to question the validity of your ideas and feelings about who you are.

Avidya makes you believe that the way you think or feel things are is the way they actually are. You can step past this misperception

by looking at what your mind habitually tells you and questioning its conclusions about reality. Then, go a step further and notice how feelings create thoughts, and thoughts create feelings—and how the reality they construct for you is exactly that: a construct!

One of the great moments for catching your own avidya is to tune in to the first conscious feeling that surfaces as you wake up in the morning. Then, notice where it takes you. For several days recently, I woke up feeling lonely and slightly sad. This is not usual for me, so it caught my attention. I would emerge from the prewaking state and open my eyes to a gray sky (we were having a lot of morning fog on the California coast that week). I'd feel a dull, sinking energy in my body. Within seconds, something would grab hold of that feeling, identify with it ("I'm sad"), and expand it into a dulled, gray inner landscape.

This automatic process is the action of what in yoga is called the "I-maker," or *ahamkara*—the mechanical tendency to construct a "me" out of the separate components of inner experience. The inner dialogue ran something like this: "Oh, no, another gray day. Gray skies make me feel depressed. I need to get out of this climate. No, I shouldn't blame the weather. It's me. I have these depressed family genes. It's hopeless!" Before I even got out of bed, I had written off my entire day.

How to Free Yourself from Avidya

Dismantling avidya is a multilayered process, which is why one breakthrough is usually not enough. Since different types of practice unpick different aspects of avidya, the Indian tradition prescribes different types of yoga for each one—devotional practice for the ignorance of the heart, selfless action for the tendency to attach to

outcomes, meditation for a wandering mind. The good news is that any level you choose to work with is going to make a difference.

You free yourself from a piece of your avidya every time you increase your ability to be conscious, or hold presence during a challenging event.

You can do this in dozens of ways. For instance, you can increase your consciousness about your connection and responsibility to the planet by sensitizing yourself to the energy in the natural world, in wind and water and trees. You can increase your awareness of your connections to others by listening better and by practicing kindness—but also by sinking your awareness into the heart center and trying to tune in to others from that interior place. You increase your consciousness of yourself by noticing your blind spots, or by noticing your emotions and their effect in the body.

Meditations to Dismantle Avidya

Meditations that tune you into pure Being will begin to remove the deeper ignorance that makes you automatically identify "me" with the body, personality, and ideas. On a day-to-day, moment-to-moment level, you burn off a few layers of avidya every time you turn your awareness inward and reflect on the subtle meaning of a feeling or a physical reaction.

These types of interventions are not just key spiritual practices. They are also practical self-help techniques. When George asks himself, "Is it really true that my wife's involvement with another man damages my sense of self?" he has a chance to recognize that his wife's choices are not statements about who he is.

This calms his anxiety, which gives him some leverage for moving forward. Noticing where the sadness and disorientation sit in his

body, feeling his way into the sensations around the sadness, might lead him to look for the root feeling behind the fear and disorientation.

He might notice that he has a hidden belief about himself, like "I'm unlovable," and recognize that it comes from childhood and is not really related to the current situation. He could then practice with the sad feeling, maybe breathe it out, or substitute a positive thought for the painful belief, and notice how either practice changes his mood. In this way, his self-inquiry practice gives him support and clarity as he decides how to handle his wife's request for an open relationship.

Self-knowledge in Indian Psychology

Within the normal routine of science these fundamental questions are seldom raised. Each scientific discipline has its own framework within which more immediately practical questions are selected, answers searched and, in due time, generally found. As long as we remain within the boundaries of our discipline, the deep questions do not really arise.

They do come up, however, when we get involved in interdisciplinary work. Then we get confronted with the significant differences in approach to knowledge and its acquisition that exist between the different scientific disciplines. The issue comes up still more trenchantly, when we try to study a subject that simply does not fit within the parameters of our particular discipline. Consciousness is one such subject that challenges the most basic assumptions of the disciplines that are at present trying to tackle it.

When consciousness was studied in the 19th century there was plenty of confusion, no doubt, but no essential, epistemological

difficulty, for it was approached mainly from within the confines of a metaphysical and clinical psychology in which subjective, introspective forms of enquiry were still accepted as a legitimate source of knowledge. When psychology in the early years of the 20th century, attempted to become an objective science, like physics, it redefined itself as behaviorism, and the subject of consciousness disappeared more or less completely from scientific enquiry (Guzaldere,1995).

Only at the very end of the 20th century, did consciousness force itself again on the scientific agenda. This time around, however, it was taken up by an objective psychology, "evidence-based" medicine, and hard sciences like neurophysiology, computer science and physics. And here the epistemological difficulties arose.

There can be no doubt that the objective sciences have made tremendous progress during recent times regarding the functional and physical correlates of consciousness, but it is hard to believe that this will make us much wiser about consciousness itself.

If it is confirmed, for example, that our human consciousness is not located in any one specific center of the human brain but that it goes together with 40Hz electromagnetic waves that move from the front to the back over the frontal lobes, then this is extremely interesting in its own right, but it is not very clear how much this adds to what we know about consciousness itself (as distinct from its material correlates).

That the essence of consciousness escapes scientific study as presently understood is perhaps not so surprising. Modern science has put all its energy into arriving at knowledge that is objective and independent of the observer, and consciousness might quite well be quintessentially subjective.

From where then do we get knowledge about consciousness itself? An answer might be found in the fact that modern science is not the only systematic effort to arrive at knowledge that humanity has made so far.

There are in fact many other knowledge systems, but for our purpose the most promising is that of the spiritual traditions of India, which have specialized for thousands of years in the exploration of the inner worlds and on the acquisition of valid and reliable knowledge of consciousness. That the Indic traditions could play a major role in the further development of consciousness studies is widely acknowledged (Baruss, 1998).

What is less clearly seen, is that this contribution consists of a unique combination of two elements: on the one hand a highly sophisticated theoretical framework for the study of consciousness and on the other a welter of practical techniques to change consciousness. How crucial this latter ability to modify consciousness could be for the effective study of consciousness has as yet hardly been recognized.

This is surprising given the immense role physical technology has played in the advancement of the physical sciences: technology has not only provided the apparatus needed for more detailed observations, but it also has been the spur for further theoretical work and the final test for the practical applicability of theoretical advances.

Similar roles have been played by Yoga in the development of the Indic theories of consciousness. An effective "technology of consciousness" is absolutely critical for the development of more powerful and reliable methods to arrive at subjective knowledge.

Integrating Eastern and Western knowledge systems is however not easy. It is still comparatively simple, for example, to study the physiological effects of meditation techniques from within science. Such decontextualised phenomena don't conflict with the standard scientific paradigm and have been extensively studied in literally thousands of scientific research projects.

But more subtle aspects of the Indian understanding of consciousness cannot be fully grasped without challenging the materialistic, reductionist premises that are, according to many, still the bedrock of modern science. Such not physically reducible aspects of reality cannot be fully understood without adopting at least some essential elements of the Vedic, or Buddhist, ontology, which are incompatible with a materialistic view of reality.

If one studies the materialist and the spiritual systems dispassionately, it becomes clear that the results of Yoga cannot be explained losslessly by the materialistic worldview, while, as we will see later, it is comparatively easy to fit the entire scientific enterprise within one or two specific niches of the more comprehensive Indian ontology. But before we can work this out, we must have a look at what the two different traditions actually mean by knowledge, consciousness and reality.

Meant by knowledge

The words "knowledge" and "consciousness" are used in many different ways by different people, so before proceeding I'll try to clarify how I will use these terms. I don't think it is possible, or for that matter, very useful, to give exhaustive definitions of either. These concepts are too complex and comprehensive for such an attempt. So the following is meant only as a first indication of the direction in which we will move.

For our limited purpose it is sufficient to observe that the knowledge aimed at by science is not of the same type as the knowledge aimed at by the Vedic tradition. Scientific knowledge consists of explicit statements about things and processes and the relationships between them. One of the most generic descriptions of a valid statement of scientific knowledge is probably "If you do action *a*, under conditions *c*, you will get result *r*". (Velmans, 2001) This pragmatic formula holds even for much of yogic knowledge, but it does not hold for all of it: it presumes, for example, the existence of an independent agent, which doesn't apply to the higher ranges of mystical experience. There are other differences as well. In the Vedantic worldview, where truth is not seen primarily as a property of sentences, but as something inherent in the observer as well as the observed, the knowledge aimed at doesn't consist of independently existing, external descriptions of such truth.

The aim rather consists of the very act of seeing, realising or even becoming that truth. In ordinary science explicit statements about reality are complete in themselves; in Yoga statements about reality are rarely more than hints or aids, meant to arrive at a direct perception of a deeper truth, which itself remains concealed behind the outer formula.

As Forman (1990, p.41) says with respect to "Pure Consciousness Events", "linguistic systems are afloat, not pinned down to the terms in which the mystic undergoes the event". While scientific knowledge can indicate avenues for outer action, Vedic knowledge indicates rather a different way to be and experience. Even the role of reason is not the same in both systems.

In the early, Vedic and Upanishadic tradition rational thinking is not used as a means to arrive at truth, but rather as a means to express

as faithfully as possible a truth already seen or lived on a "higher" level of consciousness, so that the expression, by the quality of the consciousness inherent in it, can help others to experience that truth directly for themselves.

Within the context of Yoga, Sri Aurobindo describes Vedic knowledge as follows:

[T]he knowledge we have to arrive at is not truth of the intellect; it is not right belief, right opinions, right information about oneself and things, that is only the surface mind's idea of knowledge. To arrive at some mental conception about God and ourselves and the world is an object good for the intellect but not large enough for the Spirit; it will not make us the conscious sons of Infinity. Ancient Indian thought meant by knowledge a consciousness which possesses the highest Truth in a direct perception and in self-experience; to become, to be the Highest that we know is the sign that we really have the knowledge.

…For the individual to arrive at the divine universality and supreme infinity, live in it, possess it, to be, know, feel and express that one in all his being, consciousness, energy, delight of being is what the ancient seers of the Veda meant by the Knowledge; (Sri Aurobindo,1972a, p.686-87)

It may be clear that this Vedic concept of knowledge is something entirely different from the scientific concept of knowledge. Of course the ancients were aware of the more mundane type of knowledge, but they were less exclusively interested in it than modern science. Avidya, or "ignorance", as they called it somewhat disdainfully, denotes all knowledge that is not knowledge of the Absolute and the word is specifically used for knowledge of the world, in other words, for science. According to Sri Aurobindo’s interpretation of the Isha

Upanishad, both *vidya* (Knowledge of the
One) and *avidya* (knowledge of the multiplicity) are needed for a complete understanding of reality:

Into a blind darkness they enter who follow after the Ignorance, they as if into

a greater darkness who devote themselves to the Knowledge alone.

… He who knows That as both in one, the Knowledge and the Ignorance, by the

Ignorance crosses beyond death and by the Knowledge enjoys Immortality.

(Sri Aurobindo's translation, 1996, pp. 21-22)

In the acquisition of the Vedic type of Knowledge four clearly demarcated stages are distinguished, of which only the first is a part of ordinary science: information, experience, realization and transformation.

These four stages of understanding are most typically used to describe different levels of understanding the ultimate reality, but they also occur in other types of knowledge. Information can be gained by listening to others, by reading or by conducting objective experiments. It is the level of knowledge science deals with. Unless it is related to something emotionally loaded, information generally does not directly affect a person. Only through the second stage of direct experience, knowledge becomes really one's own. Still, experience does not yet make any deep change to whom one is in one's essence.

It is still something one *has* and is still separate from who one thinks one *is*. Direct personal involvement comes with the third step:

realisation. Realisation involves a true reversal of consciousness. After realisation, there is no coming back. It changes who you feel you are. But even then, even though one has changed one's basic position and outlook on reality, one's nature remains still largely what it was.

The whole nature changes only during the last stage, through the process of transformation. Experience and realisation can come by themselves, or after much effort, but they are things that happen at once. One can afterwards remember the exact date and time. Transformation however is a gradual and laborious process.

Before we can explore how the Vedic, inner knowledge relates to scientific knowledge, we have to have a look at what consciousness is, for human knowledge is typically a combination of information with consciousness, or at least potential consciousness. Recent years have seen an enormous interest in information, largely spawned by the communications industry with its need to store and transfer information electronically. We will not get into this information aspect but focus rather on the aspect of consciousness.

Consciousness

What is Reality?

In most scientific literature, consciousness is equated with the ordinary mental awareness of one's surrounding and one's internal movements. Sri Aurobindo uses the word "consciousness", in line with the Vedic tradition, in a much wider sense, for something that is pervasive throughout existence.

As such it can take many forms. In man consciousness manifests most typically as mind, but in pure inorganic matter, for example, it manifests as not more than an obscure habit of form and

movement. Consciousness in Sri Aurobindo's terminology is thus a much wider concept than mind. It exists in many grades or types that together form a hierarchy ranging from matter to the pure spirit, with the mind somewhere in the middle.

Sri Aurobindo formulates his view of this wider range of consciousness as follows:

Consciousness is usually identified with mind, but mental consciousness is only the human range which no more exhausts all the possible ranges of consciousness than human sight exhausts all the gradations of colour or human hearing all the gradations of sound – for there is much above or below that is to man invisible and inaudible.

So there are ranges of consciousness above and below the human range, with which the normal human [consciousness] has no contact and they seem to it unconscious...(Sri Aurobindo,1972b, p. 234)

This extended use of the term may in first instance be confusing for those who are used to the way the term is used in most of western scientific literature.

Consciousness and mind are there often equated and in psychology mind is even used as a wider concept than consciousness (for example when a distinction is made between conscious and unconscious mental processes).

Such a restricted conceptualization of consciousness makes of consciousness a freak phenomenon that suddenly appears at a certain level of physical complexity and that as such defies explanation.

Much of the confusion that presently reigns in the field of consciousness studies seems to be due to an unworkable delineation of both matter and consciousness. Chalmers' "hard problem"[REF] for example, is hard only because it contains implicit assumptions about the relationship between matter and consciousness that are quite unwarranted.

If we take consciousness in line with the Vedic tradition as all-pervasive and existing not only within individuals, but also, independently, on a cosmic scale, then the individual consciousnesses can be seen as instances, portions or representatives of these different types of cosmic consciousness. The gradedness of consciousness and its cosmicity taken together have led to a conception of reality as a complex scheme involving interpenetrating but experientially distinct worlds, each consisting of a different type of consciousness and being.

Sri Aurobindo sees these different worlds as different *relations* between conscious existence as observer and the same conscious existence as the observed. Human mentality, that is our mental awareness of the physical world, is just one type of consciousness somewhere in the middle of a long scale. At the upper limit of the scale there is the consciousness the Divine has of himself. At the bottom end of the hierarchy we have the completely involved consciousness of inorganic matter. In the latter, self-oblivion is almost complete with the elemental particles of physics moving about in a seemingly inconscient, but still lawful organisation: "the force acting automatically and with an apparent blindness as in a trance, but still with the inevitability and power of truth of the Infinite" (Sri Aurobindo,1972a, p. 344). The grades of conscious existence in between the two extremes of Spirit and Matter have been described in many ways. Sri Aurobindo uses

generally the Vedic "sevenfold chord of being": Sat, Chit, Ananda, Supramental, Mental, Vital and Physical, with several subdivisions within each of these seven major planes.

We mean [by planes of consciousness, planes of existence] a general settled poise or world of relations between Purusha and Prakriti, between the Soul and Nature. For anything that we can call world is and can be nothing else than the working out of a general relation which a universal existence has created or established between itself, or let us say its eternal fact or potentiality and the powers of its becoming. That existence in its relations with and its experience of the becoming is what we call soul or Purusha, individual soul in the individual, universal soul in the cosmos; the principle and the powers of the becoming are what we call Nature or Prakriti(Aurobindo 1972c, p. 429).

In this view there exists neither a purely objective world "out there", nor a purely subjective experience "in here". Reality consists of the different *relationships* between consciousness-existence as observer and the *same* consciousness-existence as observed. Conscious existence is all there is at any level. When consciousness-existence identifies itself with the ordinary physical mind, it experiences a separation between itself as subject and itself as object and senses itself as a separate subject in the midst of what appears to it as an "objectively", independently existing matter. There can be no doubt that this is the most common experience of reality amongst humans, but otherwise it is not privileged in any manner.

Matter as we see it and our ordinary mental consciousness are not real primitives, but rather intermediate points on a long continuum of conscious-existence, which ranges from what appears to us as

inconscient matter to what appears to us as superconscient spirit. Of course in our ordinary mental awareness we don't *see* reality like this, we see the world as existing independently "out there", and we experience our own consciousness as existing "inside" and as looking out at that "objective reality". This is quite sufficient for most practical purposes, but will not do as a full description of reality.

It grants much too concrete a sense of reality to the world *as we see it*. It should be clear that not only acknowledged subjective phenomena like colour and hardness but even supposedly objective phenomena like space and time are constructs of our mental level of consciousness. *All* our descriptions of reality, whether stemming from a naïve common sense or from the most sophisticated mathematical models of science, can, in principle, never be more than the outcome of the interaction between our observing conscious existence with whatever ineffable conscious existence presents itself to it as object. Even the very distinction between subject and object exists only on the intermediate levels: at the bottom consciousness is totally involved in its own separate existence, at the top it is all encompassing.

These different worlds of Veda and Vedanta are not closed systems that are completely sufficient within themselves. But it is not correct to speak of interactions between essentially different types of substances or forces either (e.g. of interactions between mind and matter). The different worlds are interwoven in a different manner, based on an underlying identity. In terms of the observing self, Vedanta holds that there is actually only one observing Self (the *paramatman*).

The many selves of the Sankhyas only appear separate and different from each other by a process of self-variation and

"exclusive concentration" that takes place in portions of the original Self that in essence remains One. Similarly, as the Sankhyas acknowledge, there is only one objective reality, which is ineffable, or, in the more descriptive Sanskrit phrase, *anantaguna*, "of infinite quality".

So there is actually only one world of which we are portions and see aspects. When our individual consciousness expands and begins to merge with the cosmic consciousness, we begin to realise that there is only one conscious existence that separates itself, for the joy of manifestation, into an infinite number of relations between itself as observing consciousness and itself as observed Nature. At any given time, the only thing we can know about the reality is the interaction between the center, and thus the type, of consciousness we identify with and this ineffable Nature. The scientific, objective, relationship is just one amongst many such relationships.

Four types of Knowledge

On the basis of this broad philosophical conceptualisation of knowledge, consciousness and reality, we can now attempt to build a more pragmatic bridge between scientific and Vedic knowledge. Though the scientific and the Vedic ways of knowing seem so different as to be incompatible,

they may actually be complimentary and prove to be equally needed to arrive at a complete picture of ourselves and of the world in which we live. While scientific knowledge has proven to be extremely effective within the limited range of the mental understanding of the physical world, the Vedic type of Knowledge has provided a comprehensive map of the whole field.

Just like science has spawned a technology to explore the material level of reality in an objective way, the Vedic tradition has developed yoga as an effective technology to study the inner and higher levels of reality in a subjective way. It does this largely by enabling the observer to change the type and center of his or her consciousness. This is not only relevant for those interested in metaphysics and spiritual growth. What happens on the higher and lower levels of consciousness has an enormous influence on our ordinary waking state, and their study is thus of the utmost importance for humanity.

The systematic study of consciousness will have to begin, however, on the level of the ordinary waking mind. Even in our ordinary waking state, there is not only one type of knowledge, but several. In one place, Sri Aurobindo distinguishes four different types of knowledge that are routinely used in the ordinary waking state. Together they form a gradient between the external knowledge that Science works with and the inner knowledge that according to the Vedic tradition is the essence of all other forms of knowledge. The four types of knowledge are called as follows:

1. Knowledge by indirect separative contact (= scientific knowledge of the outer reality)

2. Knowledge by direct separative contact (= objective introspection of inner processes)

3. Knowledge by direct intimate contact (= experiential knowledge of inner processes)

4. Knowledge by identity (= Vedic knowledge)

The first type of knowledge, *knowledge by indirect separative contact*, consists of explicit, objective information about what we see as the external world. Sri Aurobindo describes it as *indirect* because

it is mediated by the external sense organs, and as *separative* because it goes together with a sense of clear separation between the self, who is the knower, and the object, which is the known. This type of knowledge has been developed and expanded impressively by the physical sciences over the last couple of centuries and is perhaps too well-known to need much further comment.

The last type, *knowledge by identity,* is the very different type of knowledge that we have of our own existence. For this type of knowledge the senses are not required as it is a knowledge that arises "from inside out." It is the knowledge we have of ourselves simply because we are. There is no difference here between subject and object and, in a way, not even a process: knowing and being are one. In our ordinary waking consciousness, knowledge by identity is hardly developed and almost point-like in character: it is undifferentiated and has no other content than the bare fact of its own existence.

But according to the Vedic tradition, it is possible, through extensive spiritual practice, to develop this type of knowing further and then there is no theoretical limit to its scope. It is through this type of knowledge that the individual is considered capable of realising his or her identity with the Cosmic or the Transcendent Divine. It is also this type of knowledge the Upanishad speaks about when it says: "When That is known, all is known." The logic behind this amazingly bold statement is that knowledge by identity is in essence the knowledge of the Self, and as all individual Selves are ultimately one, it is considered possible to have an intimate self-knowledge of other selves.

This claim is in principle open for experimental testing, but it may be clear that it requires a rather radical change in many aspects of one's cognitive functioning to make knowledge by identity operational to a substantial degree. It should not be surprising, however, if smaller manifestations of the basic principle would be found to be fairly common, for example in occurrences of telepathic communication. As interest in consciousness studies increases and our insight in the processes and techniques of change in consciousness deepens, one can expect more and more interesting work in this direction.

In between these two extremes there are two more types of knowledge, both used for our internal states and processes. The first is knowledge about internal, psychological and physiological states and processes obtained by looking "objectively" at what is happening inside oneself. If one focuses on one's physical state, one could say for example, "My hands feel cold."

The cold sensation is then felt as pertaining to a part of myself, even though I'm neither fully identified with the cold sensation nor with the hands. The same separation between the inner observer and the inner observed can be experienced with feelings or thoughts. I can say for example, "I like this approach to Epistemology," or "I think that he is right." In this type of knowledge there is a small gap between the observer and the inner process that is being observed.

This type of knowledge is thus called knowledge by separative direct contact, *separative* because there is this sense of distance between the knower and the known, *direct* because the outer senses are not required. This type of knowledge was, under the name of "introspection", used extensively in Psychology till the second decade of the twentieth century when it was discarded in

favour of a purely external study of behaviour. In a later section we will discuss some of the difficulties with introspection and the solutions Indian psychology has found for them.

In the third type of knowledge one identifies with some inner psychological state or process. One is conscious, but one does not *observe* what is going on inside because one is fully involved in what one is doing. This type of identification is experienced for example, when one is fully engulfed in a feeling, say a feeling of happiness.

If one expresses what one feels in such a state of engrossing happiness, one does not say anymore explicitly and self-referentially, "Today I'm really happy," which would imply a certain distance, but one's happiness shows implicitly in the manner in which one expresses oneself, e.g. "What a beautiful day it is today!" Similarly, when one is completely engrossed in one's own thinking one can express what one is thinking, but the expression does not involve a reflexive reference to the fact that one is thinking. One could say, for example, "You are right." Even in this case there must be some implicit awareness that one is thinking this, but one is not aware of it by looking at one's own thinking process from the outside.

One is aware of it from within the thinking itself, or perhaps one should say, by *being* the thought. This third type is thus called knowledge by intimate direct contact, intimate because the observer is united with the observed, and direct because there are no intermediary sense organs involved. Knowledge by intimate direct contact is hardly used in the development of science but, under the name of "experiential knowledge", it is an essential element of all forms of "learning by doing" and the training of skills. It is also used

extensively in psychotherapy, whether psychodynamic, cognitive behavioral, or humanistic / transpersonal. It can be trained to extraordinary levels of intensity and refinement by spiritual practice and it plays an important role in most mystical traditions.

Though it is useful to distinguish these four types of knowledge conceptually, in daily life they often go together, in quick succession or even simultaneously. The most fascinating aspect of this is, that the last, the knowledge by identity, is always present in the other three, be it often as a hidden, implicit presence.

This is clear for the middle two: one simply *knows* that the hand one feels as cold is "one's own", one *knows* that it is oneself who is happy. But knowledge by identity is there in a diminished form even in our sense-based knowledge of the outside world: one recognises what one sees *as part of one's world*.

This may look like a rather minimal level of identification, but the suffering caused by its absence in some of the most serious and "unlivable" forms of schizophrenia, makes clear how essential this basic sense of belonging is for a healthy existence.

There is another form in which knowledge by identity presents itself within our knowledge of the outside world, and that is in all we know about the structure of the world that we cannot derive from the raw data our senses provide.

There are certain basic knowledge structures that are needed to make sense of what comes from the senses. The fundamental rules of logic and mathematics are one interesting example of such innate or intuitive knowledge, but it occurs also in the less formalized knowledge individuals have of their surrounding. Sri Aurobindo holds that a lot of this "built-in," instinctive knowledge is required to

make anything at all out of the extremely incomplete and imperfect information that our sense-organs provide.

The necessity or otherwise of this type of pre-experiential knowledge has been discussed for centuries, but it appears the tide is slowly turning again in its favour. For example, Sir Karl Popper (1994, p.15) has given some of the most convincing arguments against a *tabula rasa* image of the newborn child and recent psychological research seems to provide experimental evidence corroborating the idea that we do have extensive innate knowledge about the structure of the world.

How such innate knowledge relates to intuitive knowledge remains however a complex issue. In Sri Aurobindo's description of the manifold reality, logic and mathematics both belong to the pure mental plane and not to the physical plane, and they are derived from knowledge by identity rather than from knowledge by separative indirect contact.

The honing of subjective knowledge

As a whole, science has concentrated almost exclusively on the acquisition of sense-based knowledge of the outer world. This is understandable in terms of the historical division of territories between science and religion at the time of Descartes. It can also be explained as a universal human trait: the windows of the senses look outwards, as the Upanishads say, and that is where we are inclined to look for truth in the first place. But there are also a number of pragmatic reasons that have maintained this strong external focus.

The main one is the lack of reliability of untrained introspection and other forms of subjective knowledge. All human perception is prone

to error, but perceptions of inner states are particularly inconsistent and unreliable. There are many reasons for this. One of them is that human beings are aware of only a tiny fraction of what is going on inside. We have access only to the surface and miss out on the forces and processes that take place below, behind and above the surface, and these surface appearances can be misleading. As Freud discovered in the early twentieth century and the Indian tradition in a completely different (and much more comprehensive) fashion several millennia earlier, it is from these deeper (and higher) layers of consciousness that our outer nature is determined. As long as one doesn't open the deeper recesses of one's nature to the inner sight, it is not possible to achieve a reliable form of introspection.

A second distorting factor is that we have an interest in the outcomes. In introspection one typically looks with one part of oneself at another part of oneself. It is extremely difficult to watch oneself objectively without any bias, fear or expectation. The mind has its preferences, the vital nature its desires and needs, the body its physical limitations.

All these interfere with a "clean" observation. This is of course true for external observations as well, but the outer reality does not so easily change because of one's moods or desires. The inner states, on the other hand, change easily under such influences and even due to the observing process itself. Taking all this together it is quite understandable that introspection was discarded in the beginning of the twentieth century as too unreliable a source of information for scientific use.

But none of these problems with introspection is irremediable. Each one of them can by systematic effort be eliminated. The different

paths of Yoga have in fact all developed techniques that are supposed to achieve exactly this. They all aim to arrive at a direct perception and finally a merger of one's individual consciousness and being with the consciousness and being of the Divine. To make this possible, a considerable purification of one's inner instrument, or *antahkarana* is essential. The different yogic traditions thus all have their methods to improve the range, the "resolution" and the reliability of inner perception. These techniques can be grouped into those that aim at greater concentration, at freedom from the sense-mind leading to an ability to penetrate the deeper and higher layers of consciousness, and at freedom from partial identifications, that is from the body, from the vital drives and emotions, from one's thoughts and finally from the ego-sense. These techniques are within their tradition considered to lead to a free consciousness, capable of watching the movements of Prakriti, nature, as a completely independent witness, making it possible to observe inner events not only with a greater precision but also with a perfect "objectivity" and thus reliability. The inner disciplines of Yoga can thus play exactly the same role for a science of the inner realities as modern technology is playing for the material sciences.

Conclusion

If we presume that the essential nature, the *svadharma*, of science is to look for truth, then there should be all reason for science to expand its field and take up the methods of Yoga to achieve reliable and detailed knowledge of the inner realities. This is, however, an entirely new territory for science. Modern science is a child of the European Enlightenment and systematic methods to train consciousness have, at least in recent times, not been part of the mainstream western tradition. Besides new methodologies, it would involve new attitudes towards personal involvement and, perhaps

most difficult of all, the acceptance of Indic ontologies, which are more comprehensive than the materialistic and idealistic philosophies with which the West is familiar. It will even involve new scientific hierarchies, based less on intellectual acumen and vital assertiveness, and more on inner wisdom. Given the political and economical dominance of the West at present, one can expect considerable resistance to this acceptance of Eastern techniques, philosophies and attitudes. There are, however, precedents of cultural influence moving in the opposite direction of political conquest. In classical Rome, for example, Greek art and science were widely, and we would now say rightly, valued above their Roman counterparts: after Athens had been defeated militarily and politically, slaves from Greece were used extensively as teachers for the Roman elite. Eugene Taylor predicts, on the basis of a detailed study of the history of spirituality in the United States, that a similar cultural counter stream will take place in the coming years. He sees that as a result of a "cross-cultural exchange of ideas between East an West unprecedented in the history of Western thought" there will be a "historical change in the very context in which reality is defined" (Taylor 1999, p. 290).

One can only hope that Taylor's prediction will come true. At present spiritual development is left entirely to the subculture and remains outside the compass of science. As a result, mainstream society is in a state that has much in common with multiple personality disorder. Public life -- the media, government, business, and education -- is entirely governed by the materialist and reductionist ideas of the physical sciences. Private life, after five and in the weekends, follows often a completely different set of values and truths. Like all such internal divisions this split is leaving both sides diminished. Science is providing more and more power

without the wisdom to use it. Religion and spirituality abound in uncritically accepted creeds and dogmas, and miss the best that the progressive intellect of humanity could have given them. If science and spirituality can come together we can expect an unprecedented collective progress in the inner realm, and it is hard to deny that this is sorely needed. All really serious problems facing humanity at the present stage are not material in nature but psychological. Imagine the joy and fulfillment if the ancient yogic techniques for attaining inner peace, freedom and wisdom could again become an organic part of our collective life and could be developed further for the benefit of all present and future generations!

Emergence of Psychology MCQs

DIWAKAR EDUCATION HUB

1. **Phrenologists tried to find out about personality by:**
   a. reading a person's horoscope
   b. feeling a person's skull
   c. looking at a person's hands
   d. asking people questions

Answer: d

2. **A limitation of selective breeding studies is that they cannot:**
   a. tell us anything about the role of genes
   b. be used to study human beings
   c. provide information relevant to the nature/nurture debate
   d. tell us anything about the role of the environment

Answer: d

3. **Which neo-Freudian challenged his ideas about penis envy?**
   a. Adler
   b. Fromm
   c. Jung
   d. Horney

Answer: d

4. **Someone who feels as though they are not living up to expectations would be described by Adler as having:**
   a. low self-realization
   b. an Adlerian complex
   c. an inferiority complex
   d. low actualization

Answer: d

5. **According to Freud, the mind's three components are:**
   a. ego, id, superego
   b. unconscious, moral, immoral
   c. oral, anal, phallic
   d. primary, secondary, tertiary

Answer: d

6. **The idea that you can assess someone's personality by studying their face is called:**
   a. phrenology
   b. physiology
   c. somatology
   d. physiognomy

Answer: d

7. **The _____ complex is to girls as the _____ complex is to boys.**
   a. Electra, Oedipus
   b. Oedipus, Electra
   c. oral, phallic
   d. phallic, oral

Answer: a

8. **The discovery that the heritability of the Big Five personality traits is around 40% – 50% suggests that:**

a. the environment plays no role in personality
b. genes play no role in personality
c. the environment plays an important role in personality
d. the Big Five traits account for about half of our personality

Answer: c

9. Humanistic psychologists embraced the idea of:
a. repression
b. free will
c. unconscious drives
d. the id

Answer: b

10. According to Eysenck, extraverts seek to _____ their arousal while introverts seek to _____ their arousal.
a. decrease, increase
b. hide, reveal
c. increase, decrease
d. reveal, hide

Answer: c

11. Allport believed that traits could be organized into three levels:
a. primary, secondary, tertiary
b. cognitive, emotional, physiological
c. id, ego, superego
d. cardinal, central, secondary

Answer: d

12. The MMPI is used to measure:
a. unconscious drives
b. the Big Five traits
c. personality and psychological disorders
d. leadership potential

Answer: c

13. Which of the following is NOT one of the Big Five traits?
a. sense of humour
b. openness to experience
c. conscientiousness
d. extraversion

Answer: a

14. Freud founded the _____ approach to understanding human behaviour.
a. palliative
b. psychodynamic
c. patronymic
d. psychedelic

Answer: b

15. The influence of parents on the personality of their children is:
a. non-existent
b. weakest in early childhood

c. strongest in early childhood
d. consistent across the lifespan
Answer: c

16. What is special about "knockout" mice?
a. they are very attractive
b. their DNA has been modified
c. they are easy to knock out
d. they are unusually aggressive
Answer: b

17. The aim of behavioural genetics is to learn about:
a. the extent to which geneticists can modify people's behaviour
b. the possibility of eradicating behavioural problems in children
c. the genetic and environmental influences on human behaviour
d. the ability of animals to learn language
Answer: c

18. Monozygotic is to _____ twins as dizygotic is to _____ twins.
a. male, female,
b. female, male
c. fraternal, identical
d. identical, fraternal
Answer: d

19. Which of the following characteristics describe someone who, according to Maslow, is self-actualized?
a. creativity
b. confidence
c. spontaneity
d. all of the above
Answer: d

20. According to Freud, children pass through 4 stages of psychosexual development.
Which of the following shows the stages in the correct developmental order?
a. oral, anal, phallic, latency
b. latency, oral, anal, phallic
c. phallic, anal, oral, latency
d. oral, phallic, latency, anal
Answer: a

21. Projective tests claim to reveal information about:
a. career aptitude
b. intellectual attainment
c. unconscious processes
d. parenting style
Answer: c

22. Traits are defined as:
a. physical characteristics that distinguish us from other people

b. relatively enduring characteristics that influence our behaviour across many situations
c. unconscious tendencies to act in different ways according to the situation
d. permanent personality tendencies that determine our behaviour in any situation
Answer: b

23.Sheldon's theory that people with different body types have different personalities has been:
a. supported by research
b. discredited
c. shown to be accurate for thin people but not overweight people
d. shown to be accurate for women but not for men
Answer: b

24.Which of the following is not a defence mechanism?
a. projection
b. regression
c. ingratiation
d. sublimation
Answer: c

25.Rohan is self-disciplined, focused on achievement and keen to do his duty. He would be expected to score highly on:
a. neuroticism
b. agreeableness
c. extraversion
d. conscientiousness
Answer: d

26.The Barnum effect helps to explain people's belief in:
a. fortune-telling
b. astrology
c. horoscopes
d. all the above
Answer: d

27._____ are the basic biological units that transmit characteristics from one generation to the next:
a. genes
b. neurons
c. glia
d. instincts
Answer: a

28.Which of the following would NOT be useful to a behavioural geneticist?
a. family studies
b. case studies
c. adoption studies
d. twin studies
Answer: d

29.According to Freud, the id is to the _____ principle as the ego is to the _____ principle.
a. aggressive, sexual
b. sexual, aggressive
c. pleasure, reality
d. reality, pleasure
Answer: c

30.Lana is friendly, always willing to help others and compassionate. We would expect Lana to score highly on:
a. extraversion
b. agreeableness
c. neuroticism
d. openness to experience
Answer: b

31. Consider the following statement (s) is related to the features of Sufism

I. They recognize the value of repletion of God's name and sometimes resort to music of a loving devotional character as an aid to concentration.
II. Instead of depriving God of form and attributes they impute to him the qualities of effulgence, love, mercy, generosity and immanence.
III. Instead of inculcating fear of the wrath of god, they put forward the ideal of securing union with Him by pursuing the path of perfect love.
Which of the following statement (s) is/are correct?
A. Only I
B. Only II
C. I, II & III
D. None of the above
Ans: C

32. Which of the following was the first Sufi Order in Indian Subcontinent?
A. Chishti
B. Qadiriyya
C. Suhrawardiyya
D. Naqshbandi
Ans: A

33. Which was/were not the basic devotional practices of Chisti order of Sufi?
A. Reciting the names of Allāh loudly, sitting in the prescribed posture at prescribed times (dhikr-i dzahir)
B. Reciting the names of Allāh silently (dhikr-i khafī)

C. Regulating the breath (pās-i anfās)
D. Lifelong of spiritual confinement in a lonely corner or cell for prayer and contemplation (čilla)
Ans: D

34. Which is/are the correct principles of Chisti Order?
I. Unselfish service to mankind
II. Living for Allah alone
III. Maintaining complete trust in Him
IV. Inexhaustible generosity and forgiveness
Code:
A. Both I & II
B. Both I & III
C. Both III & IV
D. I, II, III & IV
Ans: D

35. Which of the following is/are correct reasons for the extensive development of the Chishti order in India?
A. The strong disapproval of mixing with the Sultans, princes or nobles by the Chishti Shaikhs together with establishing close contacts with the poor and the downtrodden.
B. Their uncompromising attitude towards all forms of political oppression and social injustice.
C. Their bold stand in favour of Sama, which has been vehemently, criticized by the orthodox Ulama and upholders of some others orders.
D. All of the above
Ans: D

36. What do you mean by Wahdat al-Wujud?
A. Unity of Being
B. Unity of Humanity
C. Unity of God
D. Unity of Thought
Ans: A

37. Which of the following was/were the doctrine of Sufism?
I. Meditation & Good action
II. Repentance of sins
III. Performance of prayers
IV. Charity & Suppression of passions by ascetic practices
Code:
A. Only I
B. Only II
C. I, II & III
D. I, II, III & IV
Ans: D

38. Who translated Chintamani Bhatt's Suka Saptati into Persian from Sanskrit and gave it the title Tuti-nama?
A. Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki
B. Baba Farid
C. Khwaja Ziyauddin Nahkashabi
D. None of the above
Ans: C

39. Who among the following Sufi Saint popularly known as Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan (Lord of the world's people)?
A. Sufi Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari
B. Shaikh Fakhruddin Ibrahim Iraqi
C. Shaikh Sharufuddin Ahmad Yaha Munyari
D. Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani
Ans: A

40. Who was the composer of treatise called Hamat (Flashes) which constitutes a very impressive commentary on the Unity of Being (Wahdat-al-Wujud)?
A. Sufi Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari
B. Shaikh Fakhruddin Ibrahim Iraqi
C. Shaikh Sharufuddin Ahmad Yaha Munyari
D. Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani
Ans: B

41. Postcolonialism refers to

- **a. a historical phase undergone by Third World countries after the decline of colonialism**
- **b. a slave mindset**
- **c. an important tenet of structuralism**
- **d. the deconstrucive *"différance"***

Answer: a

42. Which sub-specialty in postcolonial criticism analyzes the importance of human constructions of physical with mental spaces, especially in political contexts?
a. spatial/geographical studies
b. psycho-mythic studies
c. ecofeminism
d. both a and b
Answer: a

43. Homi Bhabha's most significant concept is

a. postcolonial interpellation
b. the objective correlative
c. hybridity
d. orientalism

Answer: c

44. The claim of Robert C. J. Young is that postcolonialism
a. looks "at the world from the other side of the photograph"
b. is historically inaccurate
c. is the product of leftist propaganda
d. all of the above

Answer: a

45. Postcolonial critics speak primarily of
a. slavery in ancient cultures
b. the conquests of Spain
c. Euro-American imperialism
d. African-African slavery

Answer: c

46. Chinua Achebe attacks for its racism
a. *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*
b. *Frankenstein*
c. *Heart of Darkness*
d. *The "Nigger" of the Narcissus*

Answer: c

47. The departure from a homeland by a people is called by postcolonial critics
a. diaspora
b. emigration
c. inundation
d. interpellation

Answer: a

48. Postcolonial criticism has been important to
a. Third-World feminism
b. deconstruction
c. structuralism
d. psychological approaches

Answer: a

49. According to Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, a "subaltern" is
a. usually a woman
b. a Third-World denizen
c. multiply oppressed
d. all of the above

Answer: d

50. The motif of a "City Upon a Hill" has been used by

- a. the author of the Gospel of Matthew
- b. John Winthrop in "A Model for Christian Charity"
- c. John F. Kennedy in his Inaugural Address
- d. all of the above

Answer: d

51. The word "psychology' comes from:

a. Latin
b. Spanish
c. Greek
d. Italian

Answer: c

52. Psychology is defined as the scientific study of:

a. people and things
b. emotions and beliefs
c. perception and religion
d. mind and behavior

Answer: d

53. The scientific approach is more useful at answering questions about _____ than questions about _____.

a. facts, values
b. ideas, emotions
c. values, facts
d. emotions, facts

Answer: a

54. According to the text, the lower level of explanation corresponds to _____ processes.

a. social
b. cultural
c. biological
d. interpersonal

Answer: c

55. A psychologist exploring the impact of a new drug on activity in the brain is working on the _____ level of explanation.

a. lower
b. middle
c. upper
d. all of the above

Answer: a

56. A psychologist studying what makes people laugh in different countries around the world is working on the _____ level of explanation.

a. lower

b. middle
c. higher
d. none of the above

Answer: c

57. Different people react differently to the same situation. This is referred to as:
a. multiple determinants
b. nativism
c. the Simpson effect
d. individual differences

Answer: d

58. _____ is to nature as _____ is to nurture.
a. environment, genes
b. conscious, unconscious
c. inaccuracy, accuracy
d. biology, experience

Answer: d

59. The term "tabula rasa" highlights the importance of _____ in shaping behaviour.
a. genes
b. experience
c. nature
d. predestination

Answer: b

60. The Greek philosopher _____ believed that knowledge is acquired through experience and learning.
a. Archimedes
b. Rousseau
c. Plato
d. Aristotle

Answer: d

61. _____ is to nature as _____ is to nurture.
a. Plato, Aristotle
b. Aristotle, Plato
c. Pliny, Archimedes
d. Stavros, Pliny

Answer: a

62. _____ is the belief that the mind is fundamentally different from the body.
a. mindism
b. dualism
c. centralism
d. specialism

Answer: b

63. The school of psychology whose goal was to identify the basic elements of experience was called:
a. experientialism
b. dualism
c. functionalism
d. structuralism

Answer: d

64. Which of the following was most closely associated with the structuralist school of psychology?
a. Titchener
b. James
c. Descartes
d. Watson
Answer: a

65. Darwin's theory of _____ argued that physiological characteristics evolve because they are useful to the organism.
a. extreme usefulness
b. natural endowment
c. natural selection
d. natural wellbeing
Answer: c

66. _____ was to structuralism as _____ was to functionalism.
a. Wundt, Titchener
b. Wundt, James
c. James, Titchener
d. Milner, Thompson
Answer: b

67. Freud championed _____ psychology.
a. psychodynamic
b. cultural
c. conscious
d. biodynamic
Answer: a

68. Which school of psychology believes that it is impossible to objectively study the mind?
a. functionalism
b. behaviorism
c. humanism
d. socialism
Answer: b

69. Receiving an electric shock would be an example of a _____ whereas being frightened would be an example of a _____.
a. stimulus, response
b. punishment, reward
c. reaction, emotion
d. reinforcement, stimulus
Answer: a

70. Dr Pula wants to explore differences in child-rearing practices between British and Chinese parents. She is most likely a:
a. cognitive psychologist
b. physiological psychologist
c. cognitive-ergonomic

psychologist
d. social-cultural psychologist
Answer: d

71. Nature is to _____ as nurture is to _____.
a. environment/genes
b. conscious/unconscious
c. genes/environment
d. unconscious/conscious
Answer: c

72. Freud emphasized the role of _____ in shaping people's personality.
a. free will
b. unconscious desires
c. hormones
d. group influence
Answer: b

73. Evolutionary psychology has its roots in:
a. behaviourism
b. collectivism
c. functionalism
d. structuralism
Answer: c

74. Most human behaviour:
a. can be easily explained
b. has multiple causes
c. stems from unconscious desires
d. depends on social influence
Answer: b

75. A forensic psychologist would be most likely to study:
a. the accuracy of eyewitness memory
b. the impact of advertising on shopping behaviour
c. the effect of hormones on decision making
d. gender differences in learning styles
Answer: a

76. The behaviourists rejected introspection because:
a. it was too slow
b. it invaded people's privacy
c. it yielded too much data
d. it was too subjective
Answer: d

77. Another term for reinforcement is:
a. stimulus
b. reward
c. response
d. condition
Answer: b

78. East Asian cultures tend to be more oriented toward _____ while Western cultures tend to be more oriented toward _____.
a. individualism/collectivism
b. collectivism/individualism
c. cultural norms/social norms
d. social norms/cultural norms
Answer: b

79. Watson and Skinner both contributed to which school of psychology?
a. functionalism
b. cognitive
c. social-cultural
d. behaviourism
Answer: d

80. Which field of psychology would be most likely to study the influence of over-crowding on conformity?
a. personality
b. cognitive
c. clinical
d. social
Answer: d

81. The child having the difficulty in picking up objects is suspected to have
(A) Lower level of intellectual function
(B) Sight impairment
(C) Speech impairment
(D) Locomotor impairment
Answer: D

82. Which philosophy developed the monitorial system in classrooms?
(A) Vedic
(B) Vedant
(C) Islam
(D) Buddhism
Answer: C

83. Match the following :

List – I (Thinker)	List – II (Type of Education)
I. Gandhi	1. Shantiniketan
II. Tagore	2. Integral Yoga
III. Aurbindo	3. Gurukul
IV. Vivekananda	4. Man making education
	5. Wardha Scheme

Code :

I	II	III	IV
(A) 5	**1**	**2**	**4**
(B) 5	**1**	**4**	**2**
(C) 3	**4**	**2**	**5**
(D) 4	**2**	**3**	**5**

Answer: A

84. If Ram is taller than Mohan and Mohan is taller than Sohan, Ram is the tallest. This statement comes under which type of reasoning ?
(A) Inductive Reasoning
(B) Deductive Reasoning
(C) Linear Reasoning
(D) Conditioned Reasoning
Answer: C

85. When a poor rural girl hailing from a socially disadvantaged family gets scholarship for higher studies and then lands in a high paid job in a city it is not an instance of education becoming
(A) a vehicle for social mobility
(B) a tool for gender justice
(C) a vehicle for geographical mobility
(D) an instrument for social stratification
Answer: D

86. The policy of reservation of seats in higher education and in Government employment is an example for
(A) Sponsored mobility
(B) Contest mobility
(C) Cultural mobility
(D) Geographical mobility
Answer: A

87. What does the Counsellor do in "Observation for Recording" and "Observation for Rating"?
I. In Observation for Recording, the Counsellor acts like a versatile camera.
II. In Observation for Recording, the Counsellor records everything unmindful of the distraction caused to the client.
III. In Observation for Rating, the Counsellor does not observe the client while indulged in rating.
IV. In Observation for Rating, the Counsellor judges and rates the brain, while still observing the client.

Choose the correct answers from the code given below:
(A) I and IV
(B) II and III
(C) I and III
(D) III and IV
Answer: A

88. A face to face, informal interaction is considered the best technique for collecting information about the client and his/her problem. How?

(A) It helps to get first hand information about the client and his/her problem.
(B) It is very easy to organise and conduct an interview with the client.
(C) The interview can be video graphed.
(D) It is flexible and makes the client feel comfortable.
Answer: A

89. What is meant by the term "curriculum"
(A) The subject of study offered by an educational institution.
(B) Theory and Practical courses to be completed to qualify for a level of education.
(C) Organised whole of learning and other experiences provided by educational institutions, to realize set goals.
(D) The prescribed syllabi in the various subjects, plus practical courses and project/ dissertation.
Answer: C

90. What are the uses of System Analysis, when applied to classroom instruction as a sub system of the curriculum?
I. It helps to design classroom instruction differently.
II. It helps to assess the effectiveness of the existing instructional design.
III. It helps the teacher to verify results and get feedback.
IV. It helps as a novel method of reviewing classroom instruction.

Choose the correct answers from the code given below:
(A) III, IV and I
(B) I, II and III
(C) IV, I and II
(D) II, III and IV
Answer: B

91. Tests that do not require the use of language of the subjects but responses are in the form of activities are called as
(A) Verbal tests
(B) Non-verbal tests
(C) Performance tests
(D) None of the above
Answer: C

92. Match the following & select the correct answers from the codes given below:
List – I Psychological Test **List – II Psychologist**

a. Intelligence Test i. Rorschach
b. Interest Test
ii. Torrance
c. Personality Test iii. Binet
d. Creativity Test iv. Strong
v. Likert

Codes:

a b c d

(A) iii ii i v
(B) v ii iv iii
(C) iv iii ii i
(D) iii iv i ii

Answer: D

93. The effectiveness of a multi-media approach in teaching can be answered through

(A) Experimentation
(B) Survey
(C) Case-studies
(D) Longitudinal studies

Answer: A

94. Which of the following is not an example of inter-individual difference?

(A) The child is black in colour.
(B) The child is fat.
(C) The child likes potato.
(D) The nose of the child is sharp.

Answer: C

95. Identity versus role confusion is a characteristic of

(A) Childhood stage
(B) Adolescence stage
(C) Infancy stage
(D) Early childhood stage

Answer: B

96. Who is a famous psycholinguistic?

(a) Gardner
(b) Alan Newell
(c) A. Simon
(d) Noam Chomsky

Answer: d

97. ___ psychology compare human abilities with those of animals particularly non-human primates.

(e) Industrial Psychology
(f) Social Psychology
(g) Evolutionary Psychology
(h) Animal Psychology

Answer: c

98. Who is the author of book Principle of Psychology?

(i) **Willhelm Wundt**
(j) **Charles Darwin**
(k) **Sigmund Freud**
(l) **William James**

Answer: d

99. In which year Sigmund Freud published the book 'The Ego' and 'The Id'?

(a) 1927
(b) 1972
(c) 1980
(d) 1908
Answer a

100. First issue of cognitive neuroscience appears in the year_.

(a) 1967
(b) 1989
(c) 1997
(d) 1978
Answer b

101. Psychology is a _____.
(a) A natural science
(b) A physical science
(c) A biological science
(d) A social science
Answer: D

102. Psychology as a 'Science of Mind', defined by _____ school of psychology.
(a) Psychoanalysts
(b) Behaviourists
(c) Functionalists
(d) Ancient Greek Philosophers
Answer: D

10 3. In the year _____ the Scientific Psychology was first accepted.
(a) 1779
(b) 1679
(c) 1879
(d) 1889
Answer: C

104. Who is the father of Experimental Psychology.
(a) Wilhelm Wundt
(b) Sigmund Freud
(c) C.G. Jung
(d) E.B. Titchener
Answer: A

105. Psychology can be literally defined as the _____.
(a) Science of mind
(b) Science of behaviour
(c) Science of soul
(d) Science of consciousness

Answer: C

106. J.B. Watson, the founder and father of behaviouristic school of psychology defined 'Psychology' as the science of _____.
(a) Soul
(b) Consciousness
(c) Mind
(d) Behaviour
Answer: D

107. E.B. Titchener (1867-1927) defined 'Psychology' as the science of _____.
(a) Conscious Experience
(b) Science of Mind
(c) Science of Experience
(d) Science of Soul
Answer: A

108. Who defined 'Psychology' as the scientific study of activities of organism in relation to its environment?
(a) J.B Watson
(b) Sigmund Freud
(c) Wood worth
(d) William James
Answer: C

10 9. "S-R" concept was first established by _____.
(a) J.B Watson
(b) Wilhelm Wundt
(c) William James
(d) I.P. Pavlov
Answer: A

110. Rejecting the concept of "S-R" connectionism, further "S-O-R" concept was developed by _____.
(a) Woodworth
(b) C.G. Jung
(c) E.B. Titchener
(d) Sigmund Freud
Answer: A

111. Who defined "Psychology as the science of immediate experience with consciousness being the main subject matter"?
(a) E.B. Titchener
(b) William James
(c) Sigmund Freud
(d) Wilhelm Wundt
Answer: a&d

1 12. Who is the founder and principal proponent of psychoanalysis _____.
(a) Sigmund Freud
(b) E.B Titchener
(c) C.G. Jung
(d) Alfred Adler

Answer: A

113. Who is the psychologist who constructed the first intelligence test?
(a) William James
(b) J. B. Watson
(c) William Mc Dougall
(d) Alfred Binet
Answer: D

114. The occurrence of 'O' in 'S-O-R' concept is responsible in regulating the behavior of the organism and making psychological activity _____.
(a) Complex
(b) Dynamic
(c) Fixed
(d) Puzzled
Answer: B

115. Anything which evokes a response in the Organism is called.
(a) Stimulus
(b) Thing
(c) Situation
(d) Incidence
Answer: A

116. The method of 'Field Observation' is always considered as _____.
(a) Subjective
(b) Complex
(c) Neutral
(d) Objective
Answer: D

117. To study Abnormal Psychology means, to study mainly the nature of _____.
(a) Normality of mind
(b) Unconscious level of mind
(c) Subconscious level of mind
(d) Abnormality of mind
Answer: B

1 18. Clinical Psychology deals with the practical aspect of _____.
(a) Abnormal Psychology
(b) Educational Psychology
(c) Child Psychology
(d) Experimental Psychology
Answer: A

119. Sigmund Freud is regarded as the father of _____ in psychology. (a) Gestalt school
(b) Behaviouristic school
(c) Functionalistic school
(d) Psychoanalytic school
Answer: D

120. Ebbinghuas, had done the pioneering experiments on _____.
(a) Perception
(b) Emotion
(c) Memory
(d) Thinking
Answer: C

121. Science is invariably characterised by _____.
(a) Its methodology
(b) Its theory
(c) Its fact
(d) Its hypothesis
Answer: A

122. General psychology deals with _____.
(a) Personality
(b) Development
(c) Intelligent
(d) Fundamentals of all branches of psychology
Answer: D

123. Industrial Psychology is _____.
(a) Theoretical Psychology
(b) Applied Psychology
(c) Educational Psychology
(d) Abnormal Psychology
Answer: B

124. Developmental Psychology studies _____.
(a) Personality
(b) Motivation
(c) Intelligence
(d) Various stages of development of man
Answer: D

125. Abnormal Psychology is concerned with _____.
(a) Developmental stages of individual
(b) Diagnosis of abnormal behaviour
(c) Abnormal behaviour and its causes
(d) Treatment of abnormal behaviour
Answer: C

126. Social Psychology deals with _____.
(a) Behaviour of an individual at work
(b) Behaviour and experience in social situations
(c) Behaviour of ethnic groups
(d) Abnormal Behaviour of people
Answer: B

127. Psychology is the science studying the behaviour of _____.
(a) Mankind
(b) Living Organism
(c) Animals
(d) Plants
Answer: B

128. Some of the most useful knowledge of human perception has borrowed from _____.
(a) Chemistry
(b) Physics
(c) Sociology
(d) Zoology
Answer: B

129. A major part of developmental psychology is devoted to the understanding of behaviour of _____.
(a) Children
(b) Adolescents
(c) Women
(d) Old people
Answer: A

130. Who is the founder of 'Individual Psychology'?
(a) David Hull
(b) Thorndike
(c) Alfred Binet
(d) Alfred Adler
Answer: D

131. From the following pioneered psychologist who is associated with Behaviourism?
(a) B.F. Skinner
(b) William James
(c) Megde Arnold
(d) David Hull
Answer: A

132. Who is recognised as the father of psychoanalysis?
(a) Sigmund Freud
(b) Tolman
(c) Alfred Adler
(d) William James
Answer: A

133. Wolf Gang Kohler was associated with _____ school of psychology.
(a) Social Psychology
(b) Gestalt Psychology
(c) Industrial Psychology
(d) Educational Psychology
Answer: B

134. The "Law of effect" was coined by _____.
(a) Skinner
(b) Pavlov

(c) Kohler
(d) Thorndike
Answer: C

135. Archetype is a terminology associated with _____.
(a) Jung
(b) Freud
(c) Adler
(d) Skinner
Answer: C

136. Who established the first experimental psychological laboratory?
(a) Sigmund Freud
(b) B.F. Skinner
(c) Evan Pavlov
(d) Wilhelm Wundt
Answer: D

137. Who is the valuable contributor in insightful learning?
(a) Throndike
(b) B.F. Skinner
(c) Evan Pavlov
(d) Kohler
Answer: D

1 38. The most pioneered contributor to Behavioural school of psychology is _____.
(a) Freud
(b) Allport
(c) Watson
(d) Fechner
Answer: C

139. Wilhelm Wundt established the first laboratory of experimental psychology at _____.
(a) Greenwich
(b) Zurich
(c) Leipzig
(d) Munich
Answer: C

140. From the following psychologist, who rejected introspection as a method of psychology _____. (a) B.F. Skinner
(b) Fulton
(c) Cattell
(d) J.B. Watson
Answer: D

141. In which method of study of psychology, independent and dependent variable are important elements.
(a) Introspection Method
(b) Experimental Method
(c) Observational Method
(d) Case History Method
Answer: B

142. In _____ method of study in psychology, passive study and analysis of human behaviour is usually done.
(a) Introspection Method
(b) Experimental Method
(c) Observational Method
(d) Genetic Method
Answer: C

143. In the simplest experimental method, 'E' manipulates _____.
(a) One Variable
(b) Two Variables
(c) Three Variables
(d) Four Variables
Answer: A

144. What it is called, when more than one independent variable works in an experimental situation.
(a) Situational Crisis
(b) Interaction
(c) Multisituational Effect
(d) Variable Crisis
Answer: B

145. Who has been considered as the father of psychoanalysis method of study _____?
(a) Sigmund Freud
(b) E.B Titchener
(c) C.G. Jung
(d) Alfred Adler
Answer: A

146. Who has been credited as the first developer of first intelligence test and made important contributions to our understanding of the thought process?
(a) William James
(b) Alfred Binet
(c) William McDougall
(d) J.B. Watson
Answer: B

147. The concepts like "Introspection" and "Conscious Experience" are associated with _____.
(a) Functionalism
(b) Behaviourism
(c) Structuralism
(d) Gestalt Psychology
Answer: C

148. A Provisional theory to explain observed facts is known as _____.
(a) Construct
(b) Theory
(c) Hypothesis
(d) Event
Answer: C

149. _____ is the least noticeable value of stimulus.
(a) Stimulus Threshold
(b) Response Threshold
(c) Hypothesis
(d) Problem
Answer: A

150. Which one of the following approaches tries to analyze human behaviour in terms of stimulus-response units acquired through the process of learning, mainly through instrumental conditioning .
(a) Cognitive Approach
(b) Dynamic and Psychoanalytic Approach
(c) Stimulus-Response Behaviouristic Approach
(d) Existential Approach
Answer: C

151. _____ approach is popularly rooted in Gestalt psychology.
(a) Wholistic Approach
(b) Stimulus-Response-Behaviouristic Approach
(c) Dynamic and Psychoanalytic Approach
(d) Cognitive Approach
Answer: D

152. _____ approach emphasizes the role of instinctual processes and their modification in the course of interaction with the society.
(a) Dynamic and Psychoanalytic Approach
(b) Cognitive Approach
(c) Holistic Approach
(d) Stimulus-Response Behaviouristic Approach
Answer: A

153. The system which still survives very nearly in its rigid forms is _____.
(a) Cognitive Approach
(b) Dynamic and Psychoanalytic Approach
(c) Holistic Approach
(d) Existential Approach
Answer: B

154. Psychologists with the Biological perspective try to relate behaviour to functions of _____.
(a) Body
(b) Mind
(c) Soul
(d) Unconscious
Answer: A

155. The perspective which is concerned with characteristic changes that occur in people as they mature is known as _____.
(a) Developmental Perspective
(b) Biological Perspective
(c) Humanistic Perspective
(d) Psychoanalytic Perspective
Answer: A

156. For the first time, the word 'Psychology' is introduced by_____.
(a) Rudolf Goekle
(b) William James
(c) Sigmund Freud
(d) C. G. Jung
Answer: A

157. Rudolf Goekle used the word 'Psychology' for the first time in the year _____.
(a) 1590 AD
(b) 1095 AD
(c) 1950 AD
(d) 1509 AD
Answer: A

158. Which branch of psychology deals with the study of animal behaviour?
(a) Social Psychology
(b) Comparative Psychology
(c) Abnormal Psychology
(d) Differential Psychology
Answer: B

159. Woodworth's approach to define Psychology is_____.
(a) Dynamic
(b) Constant
(c) Fluctuating
(d) simple
Answer: A

160. Who is the Founder of Gestalt Psychology _____?
(a) Kurt Koffka
(b) Max wertheimer
(c) Kurt Lewin
(d) Wolfgang Kohker
Answer: B

161. _____ field of psychology focuses on the potential role of evolution in behaviour.
(a) Developmental Psychology
(b) Physiological Psychology
(c) Evolutional Psychology
(d) Cognitive Psychology
Answer: C

162. Which perspective of psychology emphasizes the overt behaviour of the individual?

(a) Developmental Perspective
(b) Behaviouristic Perspective
(c) Humanistic Perspective
(d) Psychoanalytic Perspective
Answer: B

163. Thought process is the main component of _____ perspective.
(a) Gestalt Perspective
(b) Biological Perspective
(c) Humanistic Perspective
(d) Cognitive Perspective
Answer: D

164. _____ perspective focuses on changes in behaviour and cognitive processes over the life span.
(a) Developmental Perspective
(b) Biological Perspective
(c) Humanistic Perspective
(d) Psychoanalytic Perspective
Answer: A

165. 'Behaviour can be influenced by social and cultural factor', the _____ perspective of psychology emphasizes it.
(a) Developmental Perspective
(b) Biological Perspective
(c) Humanistic Perspective
**(d) Socio-cultural Perspective **
Answer: D

166. The frameworks for explaining various events or process in science is known as _____.
(a) Facts
(b) Theories
(c) Models
(d) Hypothesis
Answer: B

1 67. Emphasizing what comes to mind first or most readily/quickly is known as _____.
(a) Heuristic
(b) Critical Thinking
(c) Intuitive Thought
(d) Confirmation Bias
Answer: A

168. A systematic study of facts according to a reliable and correct method of study is called a _____.
(a) Scientific Study
(b) Biological Study
(c) Social Technique
(d) Methodology
Answer: A

169. The concept of building block of consciousness was laid by _____.

(a) Watson
(b) Wundt
(c) Freud
(d) Jung
Answer: B

170. Who is the first woman, awarded Ph. D in psychology?
(a) Anna Freud
(b) Margaret Floy Washburn
(c) Melanie Klein
(d) Karen Horney
Answer: B

171. In the year 1913, C. G. Jung, established his school after separated from Sigmund Freud, which is known as _____.
(a) Psychoanalysis School
(b) Individual Psychology
(c) Psychoanalytical School
(d) Child Psychology
Answer: C

172. The _____ law of psychology deals with least noticeable difference in different stimuli.
(a) Getsalt Law
(b) Watson Law
(c) Binet –Simon Law
(d) Weber-Fechner Law
Answer: D

173. Gestalt psychology taking its name from the German word 'Gestal' which literally means _____.
(a) World
(b) Whole
(c) A part
(d) Whole vs part
Answer: B

174. Who promoted the formulation of Elementism?
(a) Sigmund Freud
(b) Aristotle
(c) Plato
(d) Paul Broca
Answer: B

175. The concept of Rationalism is developed by _____.
(a) Sigmund Freud
(b) Aristotle
(c) Plato
(d) Paul Broca
Answer: C

1 76. Who proposed that mind and body are two separate entities and interact with each other?
(a) Rene Descartes
(b) Aristotle
(c) Plato

(d) Paul Broca
Answer: A

177. Who is an important functionalistic psychologist was particularly interested in consciousness, memory and emotions?
(a) John Dewey
(b) William James
(c) Thorndike
(d) Skinner
Answer: B

178. What is the name of the person established the School of Individual Psychology?
(a) Adler
(b) Jung
(c) Anne Freud
(d) Eric Fromm
Answer: A

179. Who is a pioneer contributor to the Cognitive Psychology?
(a) Jean Piaget
(b) Kohler
(c) Chomsky
(d) Kholberg
Answer: A

180. The modern psycholinguistic theory was developed by _____.
(a) Chomsky
(b) Kohler
(c) Piaget
(d) Kholberg
Answer: A

181. The concept of psychology come into teaching and the first psychology course offered by _____.
(a) Willhelm Wundt
(b) E. B. Titchner
(c) J. B. Watson
(d) William James
Answer: D

182. Abraham Maslow and Carl Roger were the founder of _____ approach.
(a) Developmental approach
(b) Biological approach
(c) Humanistic approach
(d) Socio-cultural approach
Answer: C

183. Hope, happiness, optimism and flow takes together as _____.
(a) Cognitive psychology
(b) Positive psychology
(c) Humanistic psychology

(d) Evolutionary psychology
Answer: B

184. Wilson was the strong supporter of _____ plays vital role for shaping of behaviour.
(a) Genes
(b) Culture and environment
(c) Past life
(d) God or almighty
Answer: A

185. The role of brain, body chemical, central nervous system, neural mechanism, etc., are considered the _____ branch of psychology.
(a) Cognitive psychology
(b) Positive psychology
(c) Neuropsychology
(d) Evolutionary psychology
Answer: C

186. Who proposed the famous PASS theory on psychology?
(a) Binet-Simon
(b) Cattell
(c) J. P Das
(d) Thurstone
Answer: C

187. The first psychological laboratory was established in India at _____.
(a) Delhi University
(b) Bombay University
(c) Calcutta University
(d) Banaras Hindu University
Answer: C

188. First Psychology department started in the department of philosophy at Calcutta University in the year _____.
(a) 1905
(b) 1916
(c) 1890
(d) 1780
Answer: B

189. First psychology Department at in India established by the headship of _____.
(a) Prof. K. D Bruta
(b) Prof. N. N Sengupta
(c) Prof. G. Gupta
(d) Prof. Ganguli
Answer: B

190. The famous book 'Principles of Psychology' was authored by_____.
(a) Willhelm Wundt
(b) E. B. Titchner

(c) J. B. Watson
(d) William James
Answer: D

191. According J. B Watson, 'Psychology is a Science of_____'.
(a) Soul
(b) Mind
(c) Behaviour
(d) Brain
Answer: C

192. Some of our most useful knowledge of human perception borrowed from _____.
(a) Physics
(b) Chemistry
(c) Sociology
(d) Mathematics
Answer: A

193. The structuralist intended to identify the buildings blocks of _____.
(a) Consciousness
(b) Subconsciousness
(c) Unconsciousness
(d) None of the above
Answer: A

194. Who discovered that all mental process are not accompanied by mental imagery?
(a) Willhelm Wundt
(b) E. B. Titchner
(c) J. B. Watson
(d) Oswald Kulpe
Answer: D

195. The functionalist strongly influenced by _____.
(a) Willhelm Wundt
(b) Charles Darwin
(c) J. B. Watson
(d) William James
Answer: B

196. Who is credited for setting up the first psychological laboratory in United States?
(a) Willhelm Wundt
(b) Charles Darwin
(c) J. B. Watson
(d) William James
Answer: D

197. What is the meaning of 'Flock' according to Gestalt psychology?
(a) The whole
(b) Perceptual unit
(c) Perception
(d) Closur
Answer: B

1 98. Who is the father of psychodynamic theory?

(a) Willhelm Wundt
(b) Charles Darwin
(c) Sigmund Freud
(d) William James
Answer: C

199. Self actualisation is the proposed by _____.
(a) Carl Roser
(b) Abraham Mashlow
(c) Sigmund Freud
(d) William James
Answer: B

200. Computer provided a new way to conceptualise mental processes and to develop detail theories which is known as _____.
(a) Cognitive Approach
(b) Behavioural Approach
(c) Gestalt Approach
(d) Information Processing Approach
Answer: D

201. The belief that complex behaviours can be understood as the sum of several simpler one's is called:
a. reductionism
b. functionalism
c. introspection
d. animism
Answer: A

202. Wundt's primary method of research was:
a. experimentation
b. autoethnography
c. introspection
d. lesioning
Answer: C

203. Jung stated that humans possess both a _____ unconscious and a _____ unconscious:
a. shadow/manifest
b. personal/collective
c. introvert/extravert
d. phenomenal/latent
Answer: B

204. Remembering that the capital of Canada is Ottawa requires:
a. sensory memory
b. semantic memory
c. episodic memory
d. procedural memory
Answer: B

205. Which of the following psychologists was NOT a behaviourist?
a. Watson
b. Thorndike

c. Skinner
d. Maslow

Answer: D

206. Positive reinforcement involves _____ something to increase a response whereas negative reinforcement involves _____ something.
a. repeating/increasing
b. adding/removing
c. removing/adding
d. increasing/repeating

Answer: B

207. Two kinds of learning studied by behaviourists are:
a. classical conditioning and operant conditioning
b. manifest learning and latent learning
c. conscious learning and unconscious learning
d. operant conditioning and instrumental conditioning

Answer: A

208. Which of the following is NOT a theory of dreaming?
a. expectation fulfillment
b. activation-synthesis
c. threat-simulation
d. elucidatory consciousness

Answer: D

209. The brain has four lobes: occipital, frontal _____ and _____.
a. sympathetic, parasympathetic
b. autonomic, somatic
c. temporal, parietal
d. visual, auditory

Answer: C

210. A psychologist who practices Gestalt Therapy would most likely be a(n):
a. humanist
b. behaviourist
c. evolutionist
d. cognitivist

Answer: A

211. A psychologist primarily interested in mental processes such as memory and perception would most likely be a(n):
a. humanist
b. behaviourist
c. evolutionist
d. cognitivist

Answer: D

212. Which of the following topics would be of least interest to a

biological psychologist?
a. hunger
b. thirst
c. free will
d. sleep

Answer: C

213. William James worked during the:
a. late 20th century
b. late 19th century
c. middle ages
d. the 1700s

Answer: B

214. Freud argued that dreams have both _____ content and _____ content.
a. Freudian, Jungian
b. conditioned, unconditioned
c. latent, manifest
d. somatic, autonomic

Answer: C

215. In Pavlov's work dogs salivated naturally in response to being given meat powder.
In this situation, salivation is the _____ while the meat powder is the _____.
a. UCR, UCS
b. UCS, UCR
c. CS, CR
d. CR, CS

Answer: A

216. Which of the following was a humanistic psychologist?
a. Freud
b. Watson
c. Wernicke
d. Rogers

Answer: D

217. What are the two parts of the autonomic nervous system?
a. somatic, autonomic
b. reflexive, responsive
c. sympathetic, parasympathetic
d. frontal, occipital

Answer: C

218. MBTI stands for:
a. Manifold Barometric Temperature Indicator
b. Multiple Behavioural Theories Instrument
c. Myers Briggs Type Indicator
d. Maslow Bosun Trend Indicator

Answer: C

219. Which lobe of the brain is also known as the auditory cortex?
a. frontal

b. temporal
c. occipital
d. parietal

Answer: B

220. **Which of the following is NOT associated with Freud?**
a. id
b. ego
c. shadow
d. super-ego

Answer: C

221. **In Seligman's ABCDE model of learned optimism, B stands for:**
a. belief
b. behaviour
c. brain
d. blessing

Answer: A

222. **_____ needs were at the bottom of Maslow's pyramid/hierarchy.**
a. safety
b. self actualization
c. esteem
d. physiological

Answer: D

223. **The idea that human behaviour may be the product of natural selection is central to:**
a. humanistic psychology
b. evolutionary psychology
c. cognitive psychology
d. behavioural psychology

Answer: B

224. **The movement known as radical behaviourism is most closely associated with:**
a. Watson
b. Thorndike
c. Pavlov
d. Skinner

Answer: D

225. **Intrinsic motivation refers to:**
a. enjoying a task for its own sake
b. being motivated by money and/or other rewards
c. enjoying a task because it meets physical needs
d. motivation that can only be experienced indoors

Answer: A

226. **Remembering what you ate for supper yesterday requires:**
a. sensory memory
b. episodic memory
c. procedural memory
d. semantic memory

Answer: B

227. According to Freud the _____ content of a dream relates to the person's unconscious wishes.
a. shadow
b. lateral
c. spreading
d. latent
Answer: D

228. Humanistic psychology emerged during which decade?
a. 1930s
b. 1950s
c. 1970s
d. 1990s
Answer: B

229. In Pavlov's work, when dogs were trained to salivate to the sound of a bell that sound was the:
a. UCS
b. UCR
c. CS
d. CR
Answer: C

230. Another term for thinking about thinking is:
a. metacognition
b. perception
c. mediation
d. self-regulation
Answer: A

231. Comorbidity occurs when:
a. several members of a family have the same mental health issue
b. an individual spends too much time thinking about death
c. a person suffers from more than one disorder at the same time
d. nothing can be done to prevent a disorder from occurring
Answer: C

232. In OCD, _____ are to thoughts as _____ are to actions.
a. opinions, convictions
b. obsessions, conditions
c. obsessions, compulsion
d. compulsions, obsessions
Answer: C

233. Schizophrenia is usually diagnosed in:
a. infancy
b. childhood
c. early adulthood
d. old age

Answer: C

234. Malingering and Munchausen syndrome are:
a. somatoform disorders
b. anxiety disorders
c. sexual disorders
d. factitious disorders
Answer: D

235. The prevalence rate of a disorder refers to:
a. its frequency of occurrence in a population at a given time
b. its severity within an individual
c. how much coverage there is of the disorder in the media
d. how long it typically takes an individual to recover from the disorder
Answer: A

236. Which of the following was NOT included in the Canadian Mental Health Survey:
a. depression
b. obesity
c. drug abuse
d. anxiety
Answer: B

237. DSM stands for:
a. diagnostic and scientific manual of mental disorders
b. diagnostic and statistical manual of major disorders
c. diagnostic and scientific manual of major disorders
d. diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders
Answer: D

238. Trepanation was used in olden times to help "cure" psychological disorders by:
a. drilling holes in the skull
b. using electric shock to "reset" the brain
c. giving people more than one drug at the same time
d explaining that it is normal to be scared
Answer: A

239. Dissociative identity disorder is sometimes called:
a. schizophrenia
b. dissociative fugue
c. multiple personality disorder
d. generalized anxiety disorder
Answer: C

240. Which of the following does the DSM NOT take into account

when providing guidance re: a diagnosis?
a. cultural factors
b. medical conditions
c. everyday functioning
d. the DSM takes ALL of the above into account

Answer: D

241. GAD is more common in _____, while ADHD is more common in _____.
a. educated people, uneducated people
b. uneducated people, educated people
c. females, males
d. males, females

Answer: C

242. Until the 18th century the most common treatment for the mentally ill was to:
a. lock people up in asylums
b. give people experimental drugs
c. give people psychoanalysis
d. make people do community service

Answer: A

243. ADHD is usually first diagnosed in:
a. infancy
b. childhood
c. adulthood
d. old age

Answer: B

244. Frotteurism is:
a. a type of schizophrenia
b. an eating disorder
c. a paraphilia
d. a somatoform disorder

Answer: C

245. Gender identity disorder is a controversial diagnosis because:
a. it seems to occur only in North America
b. only people who have undergone psychoanalysis are ever diagnosed with it
c. people who "suffer" from it do not regard their feelings or behaviours as a disorder
d. it has a prevalence rate of zero

Answer: C

246. Which of the following is NOT a characteristic of borderline personality disorder?
a. mood swings
b. hallucinations

c. impulsivity
d. identity problems

Answer: B

247. Which category/cluster of personality disorder does borderline personality disorder come under?
a. dramatic/erratic
b. odd/eccentric
c. avoidant/dependant
d. anxious/inhibited

Answer: A

248. A person suffering from hypoactive sexual desire disorder has:
a. too little interest in sex
b. too much interest in sex
c. an obsessive need to expose their genitals in public
d. a desire to witness suffering in other people

Answer: A

249. Acrophobia is to _____ as arachnophobia is to _____.
a. open spaces, spiders
b. spiders, open spaces
c. heights, spiders
d. spiders, heights

Answer: C

250. Which of the following has NOT been classified as a sexual disorder?
a. dyspareunia
b. vaginismus
c. premature ejaculation
d. creatinuria

Answer: D

251. A person who worries excessively about having a serious illness is most likely to be diagnosed as suffering from:
a. borderline personality disorder
b. conversion disorder
c. hypochondria
d. mitochondria

Answer: C

252. In the context of psychological disorders, APD stands for:
a. anxious personality disorder
b. arousal paraphilia disorder
c. antisocial personality disorder
d. antagonistic performance disorde

Answer: C

253. BPD is more common in _____; APD is more common in _____.
a. uneducated people, educated

people
b. children, adolescents
c. extraverts, introverts
d. women, me
Answer: D

254. Hallucinations are classed as a _____ symptom of schizophrenia.
a. positive
b. cognitive
c. negative
d. transitiv
Answer: A

255. Dysthymia appears to be a milder form of:
a. bipolar disorder
b. clinical depression
c. schizophrenia
d. Munchausen syndrome
Answer: B

256. To understand anxiety disorders we need to take account of:
a. only biological factors
b. only environmental factors
c. both biological and environmental factors
d. neither biological nor environmental factors
Answer: C

257. APD is a type of_____ disorder.
a. internalizing
b. mood
c. somatoform
d. externalizin
Answer: D

258. The difference between somatoform disorders and factitious disorders is that:
a. somatoform disorders only happen to men, factitious disorders only happen to women
b. somatoform disorders involve cognition, factitious disorders involve emotion
c. in somatoform disorders the physical symptoms are real, in factitious disorders the physical symptoms are not real
d. somatoform disorders are caused by environmental factors, factitious disorders are caused by genetic factors
Answer: C

259. Which of the following would be classified as a social-cultural influence in the bio-psycho-social model of illness?
a. neurotransmitters

b. homelessness
c. patterns of negative thinking
d. genetic makeup of the individual

Answer: B

260. A criticism of the DSM is that it:
a. hasn't changed since the 1950s
b. is not actually used by therapists, insurers etc
c. only includes a handful of disorders
d. is primarily focused on Western illness

Answer: D

261. Physically attractive people are usually perceived as:
a. more intelligent than unattractive people
b. more dominant than unattractive people
c. more socially skilled than unattractive people
d. all of the above

Answer: D

262. Research has shown a positive correlation between aggression and the level of:
a. acetylcholine
b. testosterone
c. estrogen
d. GABA

Answer: B

263. In Milgram's original study on obedience, what percentage of participants were willing to administer the maximum level of shock:
a. 5%
b. 30%
c. 65%
d. 95%

Answer: C

264. People are more likely to help others if:
a. they are in a bad mood
b. they feel guilty about something
c. someone else is already helping
d. they are in a hurry

Answer: B

265. Punching a wall or kicking a chair when you are angry at a co-worker are examples of:
a. displaced aggression
b. inanimate hostility
c. repression
d. avoidant attachment

Answer: A

266. An advertiser who seeks to associate their product with something people already like (for example, a celebrity or a popular song) is making use of:
a. classical conditioning principles
b. pseudoscience
c. operant conditioning principles
d. sublimation

Answer: A

267. According to Moreland and Beach, the more frequently we see a person the:
a. less likely we are to recognize them
b. less likely we are to trust them
c. more likely we are to dislike them
d. more likely we are to like them

Answer: D

268. Having an audience typically _____ us if we are doing an easy task and _____ us if we are doing a difficult task.
a. hinders, hinders
b. helps, helps
c. helps, hinders
d. hinders, helps

Answer: C

269. Groupthink is most likely when:
a. there is time pressure
b. group members feel no sense of group identity
c. there is a weak leader
d. group members are in frequent contact with people outside the group

Answer: A

270. Stimulation of the amygdala is most likely to increase feelings of:
a. happiness
b. guilt
c. shyness
d. aggression

Answer: D

271. Evolutionary theory predicts that we will be most likely to help:
a. old people
b. family members
c. poor people
d. strangers

Answer: B

272. Research has shown that people are LESS willing to administer severe shocks in the Milgram paradigm if:
a. they choose the level of shock

themselves
b. the person telling them to administer the shock is in another room
c. they knew that other people had refused to administer severe shocks
d. all of the above

Answer: D

273. In terms of interpersonal attraction, research suggests that:
a. opposites attract
b. similarity breeds contempt
c. birds of a feather flock together
d. a stitch in time saves nine

Answer: C

274. We tend to stereotype people on the basis of their:
a. physical appearance
b. age
c. race
d. all of the above

Answer: D

275. People who are high in self-monitoring are _____ likely to act in ways consistent with their attitudes than people who are low in self-monitoring.
a. more
b. less
c. neither more nor less
d. more if they are angry, less if they are sad

Answer: B

276. To be classed as "intimate", a relationship must be based on:
a. passion
b. acceptance
c. social support
d. all of the above

Answer: D

277. Prejudice is to _____ as discrimination is to _____.
a. thought, action
b. race, age
c. stereotype, categorization
d. negative, positive

Answer: A

278. The tendency to underestimate the role of situational factors when deciding why a stranger behaved in a particular way is known as the:
a. self-serving bias
b. fundamental attribution error
c. situational exploitation bias
d. causal explanation error

Answer: B

279. If you want someone to be attracted to you, research

suggests that you should:
a. ask them about themselves
b. argue with them
c. talk only about yourself
d. all of the above

Answer: A

280. The fact that as group size increases, group productivity tends to decrease is most likely explained by:
a. groupthink
b. stereotyping
c. social loafing
d. social facilitation

Answer: C

281. According to the "foot in the door" technique, you are more likely to be able to change someone's attitude if you:
a. visit them in their home
b. start by complimenting them on their choice of footwear
c. tell them how many celebrities hold the attitude you want them to adopt
d. get them to make a small change in attitude to start with

Answer: D

282. Jill and John have been married for many years and rely on each other to meet important goals. This reliance reveals that they are:
a. passionate
b. interdependent
c. self-serving
d. all of the above

Answer: B

283. Groups that set _____ and _____ goals are more likely to be effective than groups that don't set these kind of goals.
a. easy, vague
b. vague, unreachable
c. specific, attainable
d. difficult, unattainable

Answer: C

284. Which of the following best illustrates the concept of minority influence?
a. a union is successful in negotiating an improved benefits package for its members
b. three teenagers manage to persuade their school to adopt a new anti-litter policy
c. Shari is able to persuade her friend Ivy to give up smoking
d. the government passes a law requiring cyclists to wear helmets

Answer: B

285. According to cognitive dissonance theory, we may be motivated to change our attitudes to:
a. reduce negative feelings
b. conform to the attitudes of high-status individuals
c. force others to do the same
d. increase our level of anxiety

Answer: A

286. Another term for the fundamental attribution error is:
a. commitment
b. correspondence bias
c. cognitive dissonance
d. stereotype threat

Answer: B

287. We are likely to make a _____ attribution to explain our success, and a _____ attribution to explain our failure.
a. causal, correlational
b. correlational, causal
c. person, situation
d. situation, person

Answer: C

288. Benjamin thinks that if he kicks his car and swears at his computer he will release his anger and be less aggressive with his co-workers. Benjamin believes in:
a. the fundamental attribution error
b. social loafing
c. social facilitation
d. catharsis

Answer: D

289. One likely explanation for why so many people ignored Kitty Genovese's situation is:
a. social facilitation
b. the social responsibility norm
c. diffusion of responsibility
d. groupthink

Answer: C

290. The Implicit Association Test is designed to measure:
a. verbal ability
b. unconscious stereotyping
c. hidden mathematical ability
d. dream content

Answer: B

291. Phrenologists tried to find out about personality by:
a. reading a person's horoscope
b. feeling a person's skull
c. looking at a person's hands
d. asking people questions
Answer: A

292. A limitation of selective breeding studies is that they cannot:
a. tell us anything about the role of genes
b. be used to study human beings
c. provide information relevant to the nature/nurture debate
d. tell us anything about the role of the environment

Answer: B

293. Which neo-Freudian challenged his ideas about penis envy?
a. Adler
b. Fromm
c. Jung
d. Horney

Answer: D

294. Someone who feels as though they are not living up to expectations would be described by Adler as having:
a. low self-realization
b. an Adlerian complex
c. an inferiority complex
d. low actualization

Answer: A

295. According to Freud, the mind's three components are:
a. ego, id, superego
b. unconscious, moral, immoral
c. oral, anal, phallic
d. primary, secondary, tertiary

Answer: D

296. The idea that you can assess someone's personality by studying their face is called:
a. phrenology
b. physiology
c. somatology
d. physiognomy

Answer: A

297. The _____ complex is to girls as the _____ complex is to boys.
a. Electra, Oedipus
b. Oedipus, Electra
c. oral, phallic
d. phallic, oral

Answer: C

298. The discovery that the heritability of the Big Five personality traits is around 40% – 50% suggests that:
a. the environment plays no role in personality
b. genes play no role in personality
c. the environment plays an important role in personality
d. the Big Five traits account for about half of our personality

Answer: B

299. Humanistic psychologists embraced the idea of:
a. repression
b. free will
c. unconscious drives
d. the id

Answer: B

300. According to Eysenck, extraverts seek to _____ their arousal while introverts seek to _____ their arousal.
a. decrease, increase
b. hide, reveal
c. increase, decrease
d. reveal, hide

Answer: C

301. Allport believed that traits could be organized into three levels:
a. primary, secondary, tertiary
b. cognitive, emotional, physiological
c. id, ego, superego
d. cardinal, central, secondary

Answer: D

302. The MMPI is used to measure:
a. unconscious drives
b. the Big Five traits
c. personality and psychological disorders
d. leadership potential

Answer: C

303. Which of the following is NOT one of the Big Five traits?
a. sense of humour
b. openness to experience
c. conscientiousness
d. extraversion

Answer: A

304. Freud founded the _____ approach to understanding human behaviour.
a. palliative
b. psychodynamic
c. patronymic
d. psychedelic

Answer: B

305. The influence of parents on the personality of their children is:
a. non-existent
b. weakest in early childhood
c. strongest in early childhood
d. consistent across the lifespan

Answer: C

306. What is special about "knockout" mice?
a. they are very attractive
b. their DNA has been modified
c. they are easy to knock out
d. they are unusually aggressive

Answer: B

307. The aim of behavioural genetics is to learn about:
a. the extent to which geneticists can modify people's behaviour
b. the possibility of eradicating behavioural problems in children
c. the genetic and environmental influences on human behaviour
d. the ability of animals to learn language

Answer: C

308. Monozygotic is to _____ twins as dizygotic is to _____ twins.
a. male, female,
b. female, male
c. fraternal, identical
d. identical, fraternal

Answer: D

309. Which of the following characteristics describe someone who, according to Maslow, is self-actualized?
a. creativity
b. confidence
c. spontaneity
d. all of the above

Answer: D

310. According to Freud, children pass through 4 stages of psychosexual development. Which of the following shows the stages in the correct developmental order?
a. oral, anal, phallic, latency
b. latency, oral, anal, phallic
c. phallic, anal, oral, latency
d. oral, phallic, latency, anal

Answer: A

311. Projective tests claim to reveal information about:
a. career aptitude
b. intellectual attainment
c. unconscious processes
d. parenting style

Answer: C

312. Traits are defined as:
a. physical characteristics that distinguish us from other people
b. relatively enduring characteristics that influence our behaviour across many situations
c. unconscious tendencies to act in different ways according to the situation
d. permanent personality tendencies that determine our behaviour in any situation

Answer: B

313. Sheldon's theory that people with different body types have different personalities has been:
a. supported by research
b. discredited
c. shown to be accurate for thin people but not overweight people
d. shown to be accurate for women but not for men

Answer: B

314. Which of the following is not a defence mechanism?
a. projection
b. regression
c. ingratiation
d. sublimation

Answer: C

315. Rohan is self-disciplined, focused on achievement and keen to do his duty. He would be expected to score highly on:
a. neuroticism
b. agreeableness
c. extraversion
d. conscientiousness

Answer: D

316. The Barnum effect helps to explain people's belief in:
a. fortune-telling
b. astrology
c. horoscopes
d. all the above

Answer: D

317. _____ are the basic biological units that transmit characteristics from one generation to the next:
a. genes
b. neurons
c. glia
d. instincts

Answer: A

318. Which of the following would NOT be useful to a behavioural geneticist?
a. family studies
b. case studies
c. adoption studies
d. twin studies

Answer: B

319. According to Freud, the id is to the _____ principle as the ego is to the _____ principle.
a. aggressive, sexual
b. sexual, aggressive
c. pleasure, reality
d. reality, pleasure

Answer: C

320. Lana is friendly, always willing to help others and compassionate. We would expect Lana to score highly on:
a. extraversion
b. agreeableness
c. neuroticism
d. openness to experience

Answer: B

ANSWERS

1. b